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To meet the challenge of a growing urban population with more older members
d more leisure time, higher adult education must concern itself with values,
itudes, and understanding as opposed to simple skills, facts, and information; and
w methods for deriving objectives must be developed. Higher adult education should
liberal adult education stressing skills of decision-making and public responsibility;
re attention must be paid to cultural and arts education. A major component of
veloping programs must be education about the city, using the resources of the
y and the city itself as methods and materials. Administrators and programers must
come increasingly concerned with widening their audiences so they involve not only
e elite but also the man in the street. Adult educators have it within their power to
n changes in the emerging city into the means of enlarging their horizons and
mulating their imaginations. (These papers were presented at the Tulane University
stitute for Deans and Directors of Adult Education held in New Orleans and at the
mmer Graduate Workshop for Administrators of Higher Adult Education held at the
iversity of Tennessee, both in 1963.) (aj)

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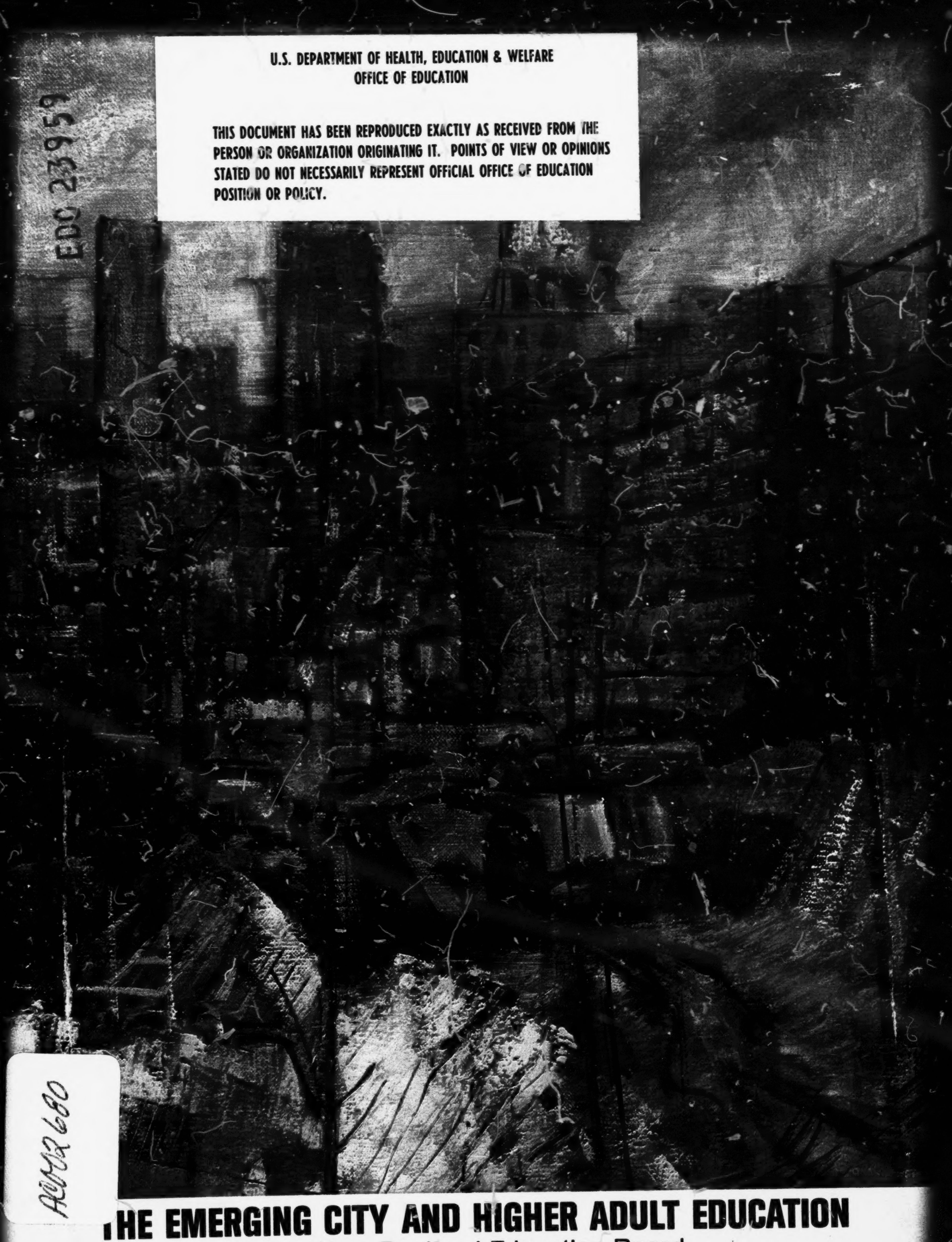

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THE EMERGING CITY AND HIGHER ADULT EDUCATION

Southern Regional Education Board

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THE EMERGING CITY AND HIGHER ADULT EDUCATION

Southern Regional Education Board
130 Sixth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

AC 002 680

Papers presented at the Tulane University Institute for Deans and Directors of Adult Education, June 26-29, 1963, and at the Summer Graduate Workshop for Administrators of Higher Adult Education, University of Tennessee, July 22-August 10, 1963

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PREFACE

State and urban systems of continuing education are needed to provide a high level of *quality* in programs for adults, and to provide *expanded opportunities for education* to all citizens capable of utilizing college and university training. Systems of continuing education are needed to insure a healthy society and economy in the region.

The Southern Regional Education Board is convinced that the growing problems of providing many kinds of continuing education to adult populations will require states and their cities to establish systematic cooperation between the agricultural and general extension divisions and the evening colleges of public and private higher institutions which have functioned separately in the past.

What is *not* needed is a continuation of much of what we now provide in the way of information and skills that become obsolete in five to ten years. Too much perishable education is already being passed on to our youth and to our adults.

Administrators in continuing education need to consider specific audiences who are vital to urban society and economy. They need to think about how they would construct programs of continuing study of durable value for these groups. It may be well to pause here and consider a few examples of these major adult audiences.

Researchers in Urban Industry and Science

Over the past sixty years trained adults in professions and in research laboratories associated with industry, science, business and higher education have helped produce a gross national product at an average rate of over three per cent increase per year. In only a little more than thirty years, trained adults have increased per capita income over 250 per cent, from 200 billion GNP in 1930 to over 525 GNP in 1962. Many of these adult researchers are college graduates who must keep their professional and liberal education updated with basic new knowledge, principles, concepts, insights, and appreciations. Adult higher education programs must avoid the purveying of perishable information as a substitute for fundamental knowledge.

Diversified industrial developments have eliminated dependence upon single industries such as coal production or iron and steel manufacturing. Chemistry has given long chain polymers and a multitude of new industries producing the myriad synthetic materials and plastics that make up so much of life today. Physicists have done wonders with the electrical behavior of solids, resulting in the development of the transistor. A third of all transistors produced in this country are made in the South.

Trained adults in research are behind these accomplishments. Their education must be continuously updated with basic new knowledge, not mere details.

Trained Adults in Old and New Industries in Urban Areas

A wide assortment of college trained adults is revamping the economic fabric of the South. They deal with all manner of problems including municipal land use; the rehabilitation of oyster and shrimp boat industries; the development of the Appalachian mountain region; the merging of sand and fire to produce ceramic nose cones for space missiles; the production of atomic energy at Oak Ridge and Savannah River; the operation of missile and space industries at Cape Kennedy and Houston; and the development of dams and waterways and electrical power for TVA. More money comes into the Southern economy today through pulp and paper manufacturing than is derived from the region's entire cotton crop.

The combination of gas, oil, sulphur and fresh water has produced the sprawling petrochemical industry along the Texas-Louisiana coast. The result is the emergence of a new urban area growing from New Orleans to Lake Charles, Louisiana to Houston, Texas. This same coastal area is the busiest shipping area in the United States accounting for half again more tonnage than the Port of New York, with New Orleans and Houston already second and third only to New York. Trained adults in the industries and societies of these areas account for much of this progress. Their knowledge needs to be continuously updated if the economy of the area is to remain sound.

Adults Who Apply Basic Old Knowledge to the Creation of New Knowledge

Scientific agriculture is giving rise to a host of new scientists who are trained in sophisticated disciplines related not only to the production of food, trees and grain crops, but to medical research and industrial growth. This is but one example of an old field of knowledge bursting with opportunities for programs in continuing education. The fields of nematology and of plant virology are producing scientists to cope with the remarkable range of little understood diseases of grains, trees, ornamentals and vegetables. Such scientists enable major food industries – cereal and soup companies, frozen food processors, citrus and nut tree industries – to make major breakthroughs in food technology. The field of biophysics is bringing to the animal health sciences the know-how of human medicine to produce vastly improved stocks of marketable animals. Plant virologists in greenhouses are tracking the deadly life-like chemicals called viruses which may be related to the agents of human cancer. Soil clay mineralogists are learning more about the productive world of life and matter that lies beneath our feet.

Trained adults are doing these things. However, the education they received at 25 must be refreshed from time to time during their 40 or more years of professional life.

Adults Who Are Concerned With the Urban Society of Their Cities

Today, Atlanta in the east and Dallas-Fort Worth in the west stand as the new city giants of the South. Increasingly they influence wholesaling, retailing, communications, transportation, fiscal flow, population growth, civic and social improvements, and land use for hundreds of miles around them. Between and around them, other major cities increasingly dominate the remaining areas – Baltimore, Norfolk, Charlotte, Columbia, Little Rock, Miami, New Orleans, Houston, Oklahoma City, Memphis, Louisville, Birmingham. New urban complexes are growing that stretch from Greenville, South Carolina across North Carolina and almost to Virginia; from West Palm Beach to Miami; from Norfolk to Boston.

Millions of educated adults live, work and learn in these cities and urban areas. Seventy per cent of the nation's population live in cities and over twenty-two per cent more of the people live in small towns. Only a little more than seven per cent of the people live on farms. Urban populations need excellent professional and liberal studies to perform effectively as workers and as citizens. They must not be subjected to cycles of educational obsolescence and frantic retraining.

A little more than a hundred years ago another country – largely a sand dune sticking out in the North Sea – with few water resources, no minerals, no timber, and terribly poor people – began to build an economy by educating the adult population on a continuing annual basis. By importing most of its resources and by exporting the world's finest dairy products, today Denmark is one of the richest nations in the world per capita. *It has a tradition of continuing adult education closely linked to its economy, its society and its humanistic achievements.* This country – this region – must develop the systems of higher adult education needed to insure social, cultural, and economic well-being.

The South and the nation require a growing number of imaginative administrators in college and university divisions of adult education who will develop durable programs of high quality for the important audiences in our cities. As research produces industries, as advisory teams solve economic and social problems, as urban areas grow and multiply, as agriculture achieves new levels of productivity, as civic and educational leadership assume responsibilities for our urban populations, as we reclaim from disuse and misuse the mineral, land, and population resources of our country, the enterprise of developing statewide and urban systems of education for adults to staff an expanding society and economy emerges as one of the most complex and magnificent goals of our day.

PART I

THE DEVELOPMENT OF HIGHER ADULT EDUCATION IN THE URBAN SETTING

THE EXTENSION ADMINISTRATOR AS ARTIST AND ENGINEER

Dr. Cyril O. Houle
Professor of Education
University of Chicago

What does the extension administrator do when he confronts urbanism and becomes aware that it simultaneously broadens out to include the philosophical aspects of modern culture and narrows down to involve such persistent problems as the billowing smoke from factory chimneys, the crying child in the jungle of the slum, and the sharp conflict at the frontier of racial expansion? As a citizen, a university faculty member, or a student, he can study and reflect about the phenomenon, discuss and debate it, and philosophize and dream about how the city might truly become the crown of civilization.

But the extension administrator stands halfway between the ideal and the real. It is his task to be an intermediary between them, accepting all the limitations of time, resources, and talents which he confronts, yet doing what he can to use the processes of teaching and learning to bring the real closer to the ideal. When he confronts the massive concept of urbanism, his first reaction may be one of dismay, conscious as he is not only of the size of the problems involved but also of how much his resources are taxed by his existing program.

Yet after the moment of dismay comes the realization that his task is not to do everything but to do selected things well. Higher adult education is so broadly based that it must serve many purposes and meet many needs. A public library could not last very long if all its books dealt with one subject or gave only one viewpoint or were written at the same level of comprehension. A university extension program must be similarly comprehensive and varied in both approach and depth, and yet it does have a way of work which underlies its diversity. The reflective extension administrator knows that his first task is to decide what goals should be achieved.

There are four ways to begin.

1. The extension administrator may start by examining his own values. He may look at the total problem of urbanism as reflected by his personal experience and his reading and decide what central values seem most significant to him. Health, economic growth, beauty, political responsibility, human welfare, tolerance: these and other attributes of a good life in a good society are involved in the problems of urbanism. The educator of adults in a university and those who advise him might begin by asking themselves on which values they wish to concentrate.

2. The extension administrator may start by examining his community. The dean of an evening college may discover that even though he has lived in a city all his life, he knows it less well than he should. He, like everyone else, has built his own pattern of life and therefore sees only what he has grown used to seeing. The study of social statistics may reveal, for example, that his city has greater extremes than he realized. Some parts differ sharply from others in crime rates, in health, in opportunity to enjoy recreation, in availability of books or of fine arts, and in other characteristics. The university might therefore consider the possibility of going into a neighborhood program, in some communities building on strengths, in others remedying weaknesses.

3. The extension administrator may start by identifying groups at whom his efforts might be directed. The university should serve primarily those who can most profit from higher learning and who can be influential in putting their knowledge to use. At whom should its efforts be directed: at the central power elite itself; at the leaders of the business community; at the clergy; at those who can control and operate the mass media; at labor union leaders; at board members of community institutions; at women's groups; at the leaders of suburban organizations; or at any of the myriad other potential publics of the university?

4. The extension administrator may start by identifying the body of ideas, understanding, and skills which should be taught. Perhaps the very concept of urbanism itself, in all its depth and richness, needs to be conveyed. There are countless other possibilities ranging from an appreciation of the arts to an awareness of the detailed techniques of city zoning. As the other papers in this symposium show, urbanism involves much of man's theoretical and practical knowledge. As that knowledge grows, there is a constant frontier for new programming.

Although the extension administrator may begin in any one of several ways, he must eventually employ each of the others in refining a statement of objectives for the given situation. Defined knowledge must be learned by individual people in a particular community setting in terms of specific values.

At the risk of appearing mechanical, let us see how this procedure works:

1. Suppose, for example, that the director of an extension service is keenly aware of the importance of aesthetic qualities in life. He looks at his city and sees that, despite its originally beautiful natural setting, it has become ugly. Early industrialists set a bad precedent which has been followed by thoughtless self-interest ever since, so that dilapidated factories, seamy slums, and railroad switchyards dominate the heart of the city. Who could remedy this situation? Only two groups really have the power: the industrialists and the politicians. What do they need to know? First, they must be made aware of potentialities; they require some standards by which to perceive the performance of their own city as miserable. Second, they need to know what powers they have and how such powers have been used in other cities. This content is available in books, in certain faculty members, and in the outside resources on which the university can draw.

2. Or suppose the dean of an evening college discovers, as the result of a community survey, that his city falls far below most cities in the adequacy of its welfare provisions. The sick, the old, the feeble, the poor, the abandoned children, and the handicapped have fewer resources to which to turn than their counterparts elsewhere. The value of humanitarianism is strong within the dean, so that he feels the need to remedy the situation. How can he do so by educational means? Well, at least one influential group is made up of the boards of trustees of existing agencies, both public and private. They are apparently not doing their jobs very well, perhaps because they do not understand the welfare needs of the modern city, perhaps because they do not know how to be effective board members. Yet content is readily available on both these subjects.

3. Suppose the director of adult education of a liberal arts college becomes aware that the destiny of an urban complex is largely controlled by those who live in the suburbs, who own the city but do not dwell in it, since they escape at night to the expensively landscaped and decorated beauty of their homes. Suppose, as well, that he has become convinced (as have the authors of the papers in this symposium) that an urban complex ought to have unity; his value system urges him strongly to try to knit together the central city and its outer green belt. At whom can he aim? Certainly not at all suburbanites! But are there not some groups which he might try to persuade to collaborate with him: the Junior League, the boards of directors of Y.M.C.A.'s and Y.W.C.A.'s, the League of Women Voters, and the alumni chapters of those colleges which pride themselves on giving their students a sense of social mission? What if an all-city seminar could be started, dealing with the significant problems and (equally important) the significant assets of the city, and using the best sources of information: lecturers, visual aids, tours, television, and carefully researched articles in the press?

4. Suppose any member of a higher adult education staff becomes impressed by the literature of urbanism written by Geddes, Giedion, Gottmann, Mumford, and others. Could significant parts of this material be put together for a ten-session discussion group? He regards a depth of understanding about the city as a key value in the modern world and a study shows him that it is nowhere being expressed in his own community. Eventually perhaps everybody should have this understanding — but where to start? Well, there is one group: the thoughtful readers and discussers of other books. Where are they found? At the various branches of the public library. And that public library is one whose staff would like to have a deeper impact on the community.

As these examples demonstrate, the definition of aims leads immediately to the designing of programs. Certain key questions at once emerge: Where are the leaders for the program? What methods and materials will be used? What over-all pattern of instruction should be designed? How will students be recruited? How can group morale be achieved without losing sight of each individual? How can the program be made clear to the publics influenced by it, both within and without the university? How is it to be financed? How is progress to be measured? If the program is repeated, how can it be improved? The answers to these questions are infinitely varied but always related to the goals sought.

In designing programs, the educator of adults resembles any other practical artist. A photographer, for example, first composes his picture, in terms of highlights, depths, framing, and balance. He then sets his camera very exactly, making adjustments for length of exposure, for distance, and for light. Cameras can be bought (and cheaply, too) in which there is but one setting which serves for every picture. One merely turns the camera in the selected direction, makes a rough guess at what is wanted, and presses the lever. Sometimes an excellent picture results, but not often. The photographer who regards himself as an artist insists that he must both compose his picture and use his technical skill to achieve it.

The adult education market contains a number of cheap, ready-made programs (many of them borrowed from undergraduate or graduate teaching) which are automatically set so that they take some account of values, content, community, and target audience, and which have a ready-made method built in. One seldom gets first-rate results from such programs, but, in a blurry kind of way, they are serviceable. There is constant seeking for more of them, particularly since (all things considered) the demand for adult education today enables even blurry programs to win acceptance.

The extension administrator should be skilled in planning and carrying out his work; he must know, for example, how to organize educational activities so that they run smoothly and efficiently, how to present his program to the community, how to work with his colleagues inside the university and with various groups outside it, and how to guide individual students effectively. These activities and others like them make up his craft; he learns them by experience and by instruction and if he cannot perform them, he is not competent to carry on his work.

He also has another role which is just as important. He must have ideas about what the ends of education should be, and these ideas should be consciously held and rationally examined. His interests shape his program even when he does not intend that they should do so. People constantly make choices in planning and conducting their work; these choices flow from their own values; and, whether they wish it or not, their programs become reflections of themselves. The painter must use his technique to portray something; the scientist must know not only the rigorous methods of investigation but also the hypotheses to be tested; the author must have both a style and a subject; and the educator of adults must know both what should be done and how to do it.

The educator of adults, like the architect or the city planner, is both artist and engineer. Only those extension administrators who realize this fact can deal with urban society and help shape it so as to achieve a better way of life.

TOWARD URBAN SYSTEMS OF CONTINUING EDUCATION FOR ADULTS

Dr. William L. Bowden
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A city and a church have much in common. Each is more than land and buildings and plumbing. Each is people.

Moreover, a city and a church composed of people are dependent upon the common factor of leadership. Without leadership, both the city and the church tend to wither.

Fortunately, most cities and churches endure because they are the sum of many people and a matrix of leadership rather than a single leader. Seldom does one leader make or break a city or a church in the total sense. The life of each may be beneficially or adversely affected by the single leader, but usually only in part.

Cities seldom experience the impact of an Aristotle or a Justinian, nor does a church often experience the moving force of a Paul or of a Martin Luther. When such leaders occur, a body of principles, policies and experience is created which endures through successive generations of adherents or leaders. In the absence of great and original leaders, the vitality of a city or church rests upon a concert of direction by wise and highly competent specialists who otherwise are occupied in diverse professions, businesses and arts.

Rudyard Kipling, at the height of his fame and influence, resided for a time in Chicago and observed later: "I have been to Chicago and I hope I may never have to return again. Its people are savages. Its air is dirt." Kipling as an influential leader failed the city in his own way. He rejected the city *in toto*, finding nothing good in it. He sought no relationship to the city, its problems, its needs.

A city or a church survives and lives and thrives because the sum of its leadership learns to cope with an eternal dynamic that must be discovered and adapted by each generation of leadership — the dynamic of *systematic cooperation.* The city is the sum of leaders in each generation evolving the effective cooperative arrangements by which means orderly processes of government and society function. The church too is the sum of cooperative effort by many leaders who make more visible in any age the presence of a living God to sustain humanity.

In essence, then, the city is people, led by leaders who have learned to utilize effective systems of cooperation for the common good.

Urbanism as a Problem

The United States is no longer a nation of rural areas. It is a nation of cities and towns. Urban and suburban growth is spreading continuously, influencing large land areas and communities for many miles around. Neither the rich nor the poor escape the influence of urbanism. Together they face a choice — a diseased city with its toxic interactions of economic, social and physical blight, or a healthy city with expanding opportunities for all its people.

Education is a profoundly effective instrument used by most societies to improve and humanize their populations and institutions. Each society faces a challenge to design a program or a *system* of education that will liberate the minds and the spirits of its people to create abundance and an organized way of life — for children, for youth, and particularly for adults.

Each city is a society of children, youth and adults. Each city faces the challenge to design systems of education flexible enough to serve these constituent parts of its society. The absence of a systematic plan for the education of any one of these groups will cause the total society to falter.

All urban societies in the United States provide cooperative systems of education for children and youth. Few cities and urban areas, however, have anything approaching a system of continuing education for adults. The public school systems, the higher institutions, governmental agencies, and proprietary educational agencies engage in vigorous competition and duplication in the marketing of adult education programs, frequently ignoring and overlooking changing and new areas of learning that are pertinent to the needs of adults in city areas.

Needs of urban adults for continuing education assume patterns. All cities have adults in professions, in business and industry, in research agencies, in economically and culturally deprived situations. There is then a compelling requirement for urban leadership to inventory the common needs for continuing education in our cities, to develop tactics and strategies to meet these needs, to evolve the cooperative devices that will permit development of systems of education for adults that are as viable as the systems for the education of children and youth. Such systems must be accomplished within the principles of democracy that we support.

The emergence of the city should be viewed as a joy and a challenge, not a dismal prospect from which to escape as did Mr. Kipling. The design of optimum systems of adult education for our cities is one of the most challenging and creative tasks facing urban leadership today. Such systems depend upon the component of cooperation.

Adult Education as Social Capital

One of the most significant and thoughtful books produced in recent years is *Urban Schools for the Future.*[1] The authors, Dr. Lindley Stiles and Dr. Bobby Joe Chandler, argue that education is capital. Systems of education provide means by which important problems are attacked and solved. Such systems are capital.

Cities have accumulated dividends from the capital represented in the systems of schools and colleges designed for children and youth. Only through a continuum of systems for the education of adults can the solutions be found to problems of urban humanity. Adult human resources need to be improved and expanded. Our adult populations in insulated suburbs have distinct educational needs as do adult populations in our uninsulated slums and inner cities.

When viewed as social capital a system of continuing education for adults can be applied to:

1. Problems of the urban community as a whole.
2. Expansion of knowledge for improved living and working.
3. Management of processes to improve human relations.
4. Improvement of social, economic, political and humanistic value systems.
5. Advancement, adaptation and conservation of adult talents and enterprise.

An effective urban-wide adult education system is sensitive to study and training needs of individuals, of groups and of the community. It operates as a comprehensive community mechanism to solve problems. It is a major agency of local government to serve continuing education needs of the urban society and to advance municipal aims. Metropolitan governments increasingly turn to their systems of adult education to contribute institutional and social services; to plan, to develop, to mobilize and to coordinate a variety of educational and training enterprises.

Programming in Urban Education Systems

A common practice in educational systems is decentralization. Systems of public schools or junior colleges serve children and youth in or near their communities rather than requiring them to travel long and inconvenient distances to a central place. Decentralization is also a common factor in urban life. Large department stores, banks, manufacturing companies and libraries take their services to clients at the neighborhood level. Decentralization results in economy of operations, increase of quality of products or services, and, importantly, permits diversity of products and services in line with the needs and the levels of individual neighborhoods.

Decentralization should be provided in the program of an urban system of continuing education. *The systems approach* should be used to program for adult students in ways that are compatible with where they work and where they live.

Pioneering in programming should be as much or more visible in adult educational systems as in the other levels of education. Such programs should inspire adults to strive for social, economic, political, cultural and civic literacy. Program pioneering in cities should serve adult abilities and needs by means of comprehensive offerings in broad areas, such as the following:

1. *Programs in Arts and Sciences for Urban Citizens:* Integrated presentation of major ideas in the arts and sciences that are regarded as basic in the education of the effective citizen and leader. Such programs should include (a) classical ideas from the humanities and social sciences, (b) ideas from the great religions of the world, (c) ideas from the great mathematicians and economists, (d) ideas from great civic leaders, (e) ideas from the classical and contemporary scientists with special attention to space, nuclear, computing and life sciences.

2. *Programs for Gifted Adults:* Special sequences of seminars and studies representing new concepts in educational comprehensiveness for talented persons. Emphasis on individual study aims at cultivating precious but widely dispersed and diverse talent. Such programs should serve per-

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[1] *Education in Urban Society.* Edited by B. J. Chandler, Lindley J. Stiles and John I. Kitsuse. New York: Dodd Mead and Company, 1962. Pp. vii+279.

sons with superior philosophic and analytical reasoning who pursue occupations in the arts, literature, science, professions, business, languages and politics.

3. *Programs for Adults Engaged in New or Changing Areas of Knowledge:* High-level programs for adults who are employed in occupations that depend upon new or changing areas of learning. Here the effort is to serve personnel in business, industry, the professions and the arts by acquainting them with advances in pertinent fields. Computing science is an example of a new area of knowledge broadly useful to many urban organizations. Agricultural education, long associated in the public mind merely with farmers, is changing and emerging as a complex of high level scientific fields directly related to citrus, vegetable and grain companies, to industries and businesses engaged in food manufacturing or processing, and to research agencies in the health professions. Agricultural sciences include virology, nematology, soil microbiology, clay mineralogy, protoplasm and toxicant interactions, biochemical and biophysical growth processes, water quality and water preservation, to name only a few. Cancer research is pursued in greenhouses and laboratories where viruses of plants are being studied.

4. *Programs for Urban Service and Domestic Groups:* New leadership programs for civic, service and domestic groups. Here emphasis is placed on a combination of work and study, based on year-round schedules of seminars and self-study. Vocational, professional, social-service and cultural groups are to be served.

5. *Programs for Adult Leaders and Teachers:* Programs for organizational and group leaders aimed at helping them to function in a metropolitan environment. Cities must produce faculty, group leaders, urban agents, specialists and administrators at several levels for their adult education systems.

6. *Programs in Research and Development in Urban Education:* Programs of research that aim to improve the quality of education for urban adults. City systems of continuing education have abundant and often acute problems at several levels. For this reason they are natural laboratories for research and study. In essence, cities must champion systematic inquiry and experimentation related to continuing education for adults.

Coordination in Urban Systems of Continuing Education

A system of urban adult education must depend upon some formal agreement or mechanism for interagency and interinstitutional cooperation. Coordination may be *prescribed* by law or it may be a *voluntary* arrangement.

Coordination is utilized as an important administrative tool at the national, regional, state and local levels. Prescribed coordination is based upon legal acts established by national, state or local governments. Such acts require agencies or institutions of education to work together as directed by a central board or authority. Voluntary coordination is based upon mutual agreement among constituent agencies to cooperate with one another directly or through a central office serving the cooperating agencies.

Prescribed coordination at all levels is closely associated with effective systems of education. For example, at the national level, laws prescribe ways the Cooperative Agricultural Extension Service and the states will work together, or how the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare will work with systems of public education in impacted areas. Regionally, state laws specify ways the Southern Regional Education Board will work with its sixteen member states, and similar acts have established the Western Interstate Commission on Higher Education and the New England Board of Higher Education. At the state level are many examples of laws providing for coordinated state systems of teacher colleges or junior colleges. City governments prescribe coordination of systems of libraries and schools.

Certain forms of prescribed coordination are designed to *consolidate* a group of geographically separated institutions into one corporate structure, as in the case of the Consolidated University of North Carolina (composed of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, North Carolina State at Raleigh and the Woman's College at Greensboro); or to *physically combine* a group of institutions into one organization, as in the case of Atlanta University.

One group of agencies that administer prescribed coordination take the form of *autonomous* boards, such as the Florida Board of Control for Higher Institutions. It acts as a single board of trustees for all state universities in Florida. The board of the Atlanta Public Library coordinates the work of several library branches about that city.

Another group of agencies for prescribed coordination are *supervisory* boards, such as the North Carolina Board of Higher Education. This Board is directed by law to represent the financial and program interests of all public North Carolina higher institutions, but it has no direct power other than moral persuasion and influence to compel the institutions to supply or modify specific educational services or programs.

Voluntary cooperation may be observed in a wide range of instances at all levels of government. The Oak Ridge Institute of Nuclear Science is a national government agency that operates in voluntary ways with numerous universities. Regionally, the Committee on Interinstitutional Cooperation is a voluntary effort between the Big 10 Universities and the University of Chicago in the Midwest. The Virginia Area University Center is a voluntary association of higher institutions in Virginia through which are shared visiting scholars, artists, and administrators. Many voluntary arrangements abound in urban areas, such as the Great Books Program sponsored by a variety of institutions and agencies.

Interinstitutional Cooperation in Urban Systems of Continuing Education

Cooperation between educational institutions is commonplace. A recent major study estimates that four-fifths of all higher institutions engage in voluntary interinstitutional cooperation.[1] Provision for cooperative arrangements on such a wide scale is ample evidence that such devices reflect recognition of real problems. They are set up by leaders of good judgement who expect such arrangements to supply solutions. There is a large body of experience described in publications in recent years.[2] Problems such as shortages in faculty, classroom space, finances, facilities and materials are being alleviated through these cooperative administrative efforts.

Interinstitutional cooperation may be *prescribed* as a corollary part of coordination; or it may be *voluntary*. In either case, cooperation between institutions refers to joint efforts or operations wherein two or more colleges or educational agencies agree formally to join forces, pool resources and work together to attain desired educational purposes. Prescribed cooperation, by its nature, is a formal agreement between institutions that has been imposed by law and incorporation. Voluntary cooperation often is an informal agreement, but permanence and complexity of agreements soon require formalization.

The need for interinstitutional cooperation in educational systems is most pressing in higher education because of rising costs, rising enrollments, limited revenues, limited personnel and changing curriculums. During the present decade higher education will need 18 billion dollars for capital investment. In 1957-58 higher education required 3.6 billions for capital investment, but the projected figure for 1970-71 is 9.8 billions. In 1960 enrollments were 3.6 million students, but in 1970 enrollments will top 6.0 million students. In the early 1950's over 30 per cent of college and university faculty had doctorates, but by 1970 only an estimated 16.7 per cent of a vastly increased pool of faculty will have doctorates. Over 400,000 faculty will be needed in higher institutions by 1970. These realities require increased formal cooperation between higher institutions, a recognition of interdependence to cope with these problems.

Interinstitutional cooperation among higher institutions and other agencies in an urban system of education requires planning, development, implementation, use, evaluation and revision. Provisions for organization, administration and financing of cooperative arrangements is an integral part of the systematic approach.

An urban system of continuing education for adults makes use of interinstitutional cooperation to develop sharing, cooperative use of resources and mutual action among the constituent agencies. Cooperative arrangements can be made for planning, programming, use of faculty, sharing of physical facilities or equipment, use of classrooms, joint classes, shared use of libraries, contracts for services, business and administrative purposes and shared use of cultural facilities. Institutions may realize several benefits from systematic cooperation:

1. Effective use of resources for instructional purposes.
2. Program improvement and expansion at higher levels. Program stability is improved.
3. Financial economies in administration and instruction areas.
4. Enhanced community service based on each institution offering programs that each is most competent to provide, therefore reducing duplication of offerings and unhealthy competition.
5. Stimulation of students, faculty and administrations.

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[1] Merton Ertell, *Interinstitutional Cooperation in Higher Education*. New York: State Department of Education, 1957.

[2] S. V. Martorana, James C. Messersmith and Lawrence O. Nelson, *Cooperative Projects Among Colleges and Universities*. U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Office of Education. Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1961.

6. Preservation of institutional identities and motivations.

7. Reduction of pressures from the public.

Such cooperation assumes a system of continuing education in which the institutions have compatible aims, leaders willing to work together and approval by decision makers to move ahead. Cooperating institutions must respect one another despite diversity of institutional backgrounds and purposes. Institutions must be able to realize benefits and to share together even though they may not be equal in purpose, resources and quality. Cooperative relationships are not won overnight nor are they comprehensive achievements from the start. Rather, such efforts need to begin in limited ways, in a few fields, in important problem areas, and expand as experience and readiness is evolved.

Towards an Urban Policy for Higher Education of Adults

Cities are realities of our times. Cities, in reality, are people and their leaders. Cities are composed largely of adults. Cities need systems of continuing education for adults as well as systems of education for children and youth. Systems of education for children and youth in our cities require formal cooperative arrangements between schools and related agencies. Therefore, three facts emerge that suggest the basis for an urban policy for systems of higher adult education.

1. Interinstitutional cooperation is an important condition in urban life, in higher education and in continuing education.

2. Cooperation between institutions of higher learning is important to utilize resources effectively in support of systems of continuing education for adults.

3. Cooperation is cultivated and developed within reasonable periods of time to be of visible help to urban systems of education in meeting needs of children and youth. Therefore, systematic cooperation among higher institutions and other agencies is necessary to create urban systems of continuing education for adults.

THE SUBSTANCE OF HIGHER ADULT EDUCATION PROGRAMS IN URBANIZATION

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For the past eight years I have worked in the Extension branch of a state university located in the third most populous urban center in the country, a metropolis which seems to some people a gigantic instance of the contemporary urban dilemma. Yet, out of the hundreds of programs I have helped develop during those years only a handful have been centrally concerned with metropolitan issues.

Part of the reason for this is that even the few programs in this field which we have offered have not been well attended. But I do not want to shift the blame to the apathetic public. If I have been responsible for very few programs on the city it is primarily because I wasn't sufficiently interested.

Now I have become interested. I am a member of an inter-university group which is planning a nation-wide program on urban problems, and I am helping develop a book of readings on the subject.

And this activity has brought home to me what I always knew but never cared very much about. The metropolis contains in clear, urgent and vivid terms most of the issues, most of the conflicts of value, with which I am concerned as a liberal adult educator.

What, after all, do we talk about in our liberal adult education programs on national and international affairs, on the great contemporary ideas?

We talk about the relationship between the individual and the mass society; about alienation and identity; about status and class, and obstinate residual poverty amidst affluence; about race and prejudice; about the allocation and limitation of power; about public versus private goods; about the creative arts and the development of the individual's taste and aesthetic sensitivity. We talk in other words about the issues of the good life and the just society.

Well, according to the Greeks, these are the issues of the city. And it is clear today that this is so. You can hardly mention alienation and the problem of identity without taking the vast, impersonal scale of the metropolis into account. Nowhere is the contrast between the rich and the poor more strikingly apparent than in the city. The race problem is no longer peculiar to the South but has become a question of crucial concern in cities throughout the country. The conflicts between urban groups, between units of urban government, between city and country, between local and Federal governments, have vital implications for our entire political structure. Most of the illustrations given by Galbraith of the starving of public services are metropolitan. And what more important test is there of the individual's aesthetic development than his concern with the design and appearance of his own community environment?

All of the standard liberal arts issues are there, in other words. And so is the setting for imagination and intellectual endeavor and individual and social creativity; for the city provides the opportunities for these in unparalleled abundance.

Yet the concern and the excitement have not been there in our audience, and most of us have not provided them in our programs. Others, in different cities, have done considerably better than I have in this respect. Washington University in St. Louis, Southwestern at Memphis, have demonstrated some of the possibilities. Yet, until the very recent past, there have been all too few examples of the kind of enterprise and vitality which this subject area ought to produce. In most places we have examined the great issues over and over again in almost every context but that of the city.

Why is this so? Several reasons occur to me. Some are related to how the audience perceives the problems. Others are concerned with the fields of urban studies and of urban adult education.

The Audience

Our liberal education audience constitutes only a tiny proportion of the total public. Nor is it a cross-section. Mostly it is made up of college-educated, middle- and upper-income business and professional people and housewives. We are dealing, in other words, with a narrow stratum of the population from the upper socio-economic-educational categories. It can be argued that this is an unsatisfactory state of affairs, and in a few places the audience has been broadened to include active members of labour unions and minority group organizations.

However, this is achieved only by the establishment of special projects, and the fact is clear that the characteristics I have mentioned define the natural audience for higher adult education. Still, even if it is a small minority, it does constitute in some places a potential student body of several thousand. These are people who are interested in public affairs and in the issues I have mentioned. They are intellectually alive, they are the best informed section of the public, and they take their political and citizenship responsibilities seriously.

Yet they do not respond readily to programs dealing with the problems of urbanism, and in large measure this, I believe, is because their perception of those problems is limited by the following factors:

1. Most of them live in the suburbs, and the problems of the suburb have not yet reached crisis proportions.

Students of the field inveigh against the suburbs – their lack of identity, their bland, unexciting appearance, the conformity of behavior, the threat which they represent to the survival of the central city, the fiscal, governmental and transportation chaos which they entail.

Most suburbanites are aware of these problems, and our liberal education clientele especially so. But, by and large, life in the suburbs – particularly the suburbs in which our audience lives – is far from intolerable.

There are irritations, causes of annoyances, even of periodic exasperation, but there is very little fury. The freeways are jammed in the rush hours, and it may make you late for dinner; but the first death from starvation on the freeway is still some time in the future. There is smog, but the suburbs of West Los Angeles are really bothered by it only a few days a year.

Maybe it will all get worse. Meanwhile the suburbanite may not be happy, but he is not desperate; and his concern is too mild to compel him to attend a lecture series or seminar dealing with suburban problems. Of course, if it is proposed that a freeway go through his neighborhood he will attend all kinds of meetings. Not to study the problem, however. Not to examine the large issues; not to consider what is the good society. Simply to protest, to prevent anybody changing anything.

2. The most urgent problems are in the city – and by and large our audience would prefer not to discuss those problems.

As I have suggested, the issues which the city poses are the perennial ones which the liberal arts audience likes to consider. But it would rather talk about them at a distance – the conceptual distance which comes from dealing in abstractions, or the geographical distance involved in a program in national or international affairs. It is more comfortable to talk about the problem of the rich and the poor in terms of our relationship with the underdeveloped countries than with the slum dwellers of our own city. It is less painful to talk about race as an international problem, or as the proof of Southern backwardness, than as the real test of our own values in our own communities. For then it is too close to home; and we cannot study the issues without having to consider what action is called for by us. It is no longer a matter of what the Kennedys ought to do about it. It is a question of what we ought to do about it.

It is true that there are a great many people in our cities who cannot escape the impact of the problems I have mentioned. But mostly these are the under-privileged – those who because of low income and education and status, or because of their race, live in the city. Many of the suburbanites are almost completely unaware that they are there. And the reasons that leave them behind in the shift away from the city center militate against their having power to change their condition. *And for those same reasons they are not the people who form our audience for higher adult education.*

3. The political process has not succeeded in developing local issues in sufficiently impressive terms to make them appear worthy of serious study. There are exceptions, and here and there the imagination of great urban areas has been captured by bold plans and incisive leadership. But this is rarely the case. All too often the content of local election campaigns is trivial and confused. Moreover, while I deplore the popular sport of politician-baiting, it is the case that in many cities the caliber of candidates for local office is far below what is called for by the scale of urban problems. Where the issues appear to be unimportant, and the type of people elected to local office so uninspiring, can we really expect intelligent people to concern themselves with urban problems in the age of the thermonuclear arms race, of the population explosion, of space exploration? It is not surprising that, contrary to the often-stated assumption that people respond most readily to the problems of their immediate environment, there is a much lower turn-out generally for local than national elections; that most people are more familiar with the leaders of remote countries than with the elected officials of their own community; that the interplay of issues and personalities seems more vivid and significant on the national and international scene than on the local level.

So there is our problem with respect to the audience. The member of our liberal education clientele is not yet deeply disturbed about his suburban environment; he finds the problems of the city so distasteful and threatening that he prefers not to look too closely at them, and to examine them obliquely in other contexts; and he tends to feel that local issues, as compared with the drama and desperate urgency of the crucial questions affecting the survival of man, are petty and irrelevant. This is not an attractive picture of our audience; it suggests at best a failure of imagination, at worst complacency and even hypocrisy. But, as I indicated at the outset, I can be harsh without being invidious, for to a considerable extent I am speaking about myself, too.

The Field of Urbanism

The second group of reasons for the inadequacy of higher adult education in urbanization relates to the field itself. There have been serious deficiencies within both urban studies and urban adult education.

I have mentioned the paucity of programs within the continuing education field. And the discussions in the University Council project over the last year have brought me up sharply against the extraordinary difficulty of putting together first-rate programs in this subject area. The plan of this inter-university group is to choose one major area of public policy each year and to develop some programs in that subject area on a cooperative basis. For the first year urbanism is our public policy area. I must confess that several times I have wished that we had selected almost any other subject for our initial project. There is nothing that we could have tried that would have been more difficult. And in working with the co-editors of the book of readings which is a part of the project I am encountering problems more complicated and elusive than any other subject has ever presented to me.

I suggest that the trouble we've been having stems from the following causes:

(i) The field of urban studies is new. It is still groping for a clear analytic framework. Most fields of knowledge are encountering a good deal of theoretical chaos today as established concepts are undermined through the fantastic proliferation of new knowledge. But with urbanism it is hard to find any established concepts in the first place.

Presumably when we talk about urban studies we are considering a field which, for some purposes, may include community development, social welfare and so on, but is not identical with them. However, the nature of the field has not yet been clearly identified, and it sometimes appears that a vast number of activities and vocations with different and sometimes incompatible purposes are thrown together to constitute the field of urbanism.

Until some clearer definition of the discipline emerges we shall continue to encounter work which is, on the one hand, at the most remote level of abstraction, and, on the other, detailed and technical beyond the understanding of the non-specialist. And we shall lack that essential middle-level work, couched in terms which the layman can understand and find important, yet based on sound scholarship, which is the necessary sustenance of any discipline. The same criteria apply to adult education materials. We need the occasional flight into the large concept, the soaring abstraction; but we are lost without the middle-level work, and we have found it difficult to discover enough for the purposes of our programs.

(ii) Too many of the people working in this field — especially the adult education side of it — have started with rural and small town assumptions. The city is seen as the alienator, the destroyer of community, making "face-to-face contact" difficult; so that the task of the educator is to reverse this trend, and to restore the alleged virtues of the small community.

It is true that in this endeavor the adult educator has reflected prevailing American attitudes — including those of the intellectual. Most of our best minds have hated the city. But then most of our best minds also hated the small town; it is a major function of the intellectual to savage his environment.

And yet, whether we like it or not, the metropolis is with us; and in urban studies we must start with metropolitan assumptions — when we have decided what these are.

All of this is by way of explanation of past inadequacies. But the picture is changing. It is my impression that in these last few years the American people have begun to face up to the fact that they are a predominately urban people. As I have argued, there is as yet no sense of crisis in the suburbs. But the first stirrings of interest are apparent. In a few places evidence is to be found of a more substantial public response to programs on urban problems. Certainly the attendance at New York's "Goals for the Region" project is as large as any ever assembled for an adult education program, with an extraordinary number of groups watching a television series and reading specially prepared pamphlets.

Moreover, in the last few months the race issue has reached a level of intensity which must quicken the pace of urban change — for it is the Negro who experiences in the most acute form the problems of the city. And the Negro is now articulating his case in a way that can no longer be ignored by the suburbanite.

There is a change within the field of urbanism, too. New urban studies centers are being established. Foundations are supporting major projects in several cities. In continuing education, here is John Osman with his Brookings project. Here is the University Council which, after all, did decide on urbanism as its first year's focus. In spite of the doubts and regrets I mentioned, I believe we're going to make it. At this point I would even say I'm glad we selected urbanism. At our suggestion N.E.T. will do a television series on urban problems. The book of readings will appear, and despite the limitations I've mentioned the editors will have managed to pull together some sound and highly discussable materials. There will also be seminars and lecture series at the local level tied in with this national program development.

All in all, we are going to see a substantial expansion of programming on urbanization in higher adult education. This will involve many different kinds of programs. Let me indicate here the assumptions and the substance of the projected University Council programs.

The key element in these programs will be the large value questions which I mentioned earlier as being the essential elements in all liberal studies. Here, however, they will be set squarely in the local urban context.

Thus the audience must first be asked to examine its basic responses to the city and to compare city life with small town and rural life. Then some questions must be asked about the suburb, about the quality of suburban living, about the responsibility of the suburbanite to the central city and the total metropolis.

This will be followed by the application of these larger issues to the specific problems of the urban area — planning and redevelopment, urban design, transportation, housing, the population mix, social disorganization, government, politics, finances.

These last may seem to be just another collection of standard and not very inspiring topics. How is this type of material to be brought to life? How is our liberal arts audience, which has tended to find this subject area tedious and technical, to become excited about it?

The way to do it is surely not to suggest that the obvious topics are other than they are. It would be easy enough to come up with a number of graceful titles that would encourage people to float freely around the subject and engage in airy generalizations in the fashionable phrases of the moment. But the fact is that the issues are specific and the content sometimes difficult, and it is precisely our task to encourage the participants to come to grips with the problems centrally.

This should be feasible if we establish the awareness that these standard topics do not consist solely of technical data. They are the context of great value questions, the arena of vital controversies, the setting of large issues in public policy.

Thus it will be necessary to use these criteria:

(a) The underlying value considerations must be emphasized, so that we are examining not only the automobile and local taxes and housing but also what kind of life we want, what kind of city we want.

(b) The controversies which surround each of these problems must be opened up, for in few cases is there an overwhelming consensus, even among the experts.

(c) Urbanization should not be treated solely as a vast aggregation of unpleasant problems. While Positive Thinking would be fatuous in the light of the difficulties facing the urban area, presumably certain advantages and opportunities are offered by urban life. Thus the controversy must not simply be a matter of suggesting alternatives for getting out of the mess, but must allow for some praise as well as blame of the urban environment.

(d) The topics under discussion are not of mere parochial significance. Perspective must be provided through comparisons with the city in history, with other American cities, with cities abroad.

This is the kind of thinking which is going into the programs of the University Council for the liberal arts, adult education public. I have said most about this audience, because the larger part of my experience is with them.

However, I believe we shall also be seeing considerably more of two other kinds of programs, presented by universities and colleges and research institutions, in the area of urbanization.

The first will be addressed to people who have key responsibilities in the government and power structure of the urban community. John Osman is working at this level, and it is a tremendously important approach which can have a more direct and immediate impact than the involvement of much larger numbers of our general audience. The principles I have suggested for programming for the general audience clearly apply to this more specialized public. The purpose, however, is not the same in the two cases. With our general liberal arts public the purpose is to get them to relate their interest in large issues and value questions to the specific problems of their own community. For the group of "influentials" the end is to help them to stand off from their preoccupation with the detailed, day-to-day problems and gain some larger perspectives and a deeper understanding of their assumptions.

Finally, more work will be done by universities in attacking the specific problems of the urban areas through research and community study and leadership training programs. Where this is done it seems to me that it is highly necessary for those undertaking the projects to spend some time in considering the large questions which I have emphasized here.

In one way or another I expect to be involved in all of these approaches to urban issues in the years immediately ahead. If I have neglected this area in the past, I shall not do so in the future. I have been shamed into conversion, and I have discovered an intriguing field of inquiry.

There are, of course, limits to my conversion. As a liberal adult educator my programming activities will continue to stem from the ideas and concepts and issues of the liberal arts fields, rather than the "felt needs" of the community.

Moreover, in some of the statements in this field I seem to detect the suggestion that for the urban population the metropolis should provide the conceptual framework for all higher adult education. Thus there would be a single organizational rubric, and in all programs, no matter what the field, the major reference point would be the local urban environment.

Now, I have already proposed that we should encourage our adult students to see more closely the relationship between the great generalizations and the tough problems of the urban community. But I do not think they should be compelled to do so in all of the programs which we offer. The great positive attribute of the metropolis is its diversity, its exemplification of the pluralism of our society. Higher adult education in the city should reflect this diversity, and should enable the individual to cultivate his own tastes and interests without forced reference to the community in which he lives.

So I do not believe that urbanism is everything, or that urban adult education is synonymous with liberal adult education.

Having said this I will re-affirm my view that it is time to give urban studies their proper weight, which most of us have denied them in the past, and that we should now bring urban affairs into the mainstream of higher liberal adult education.

PART II

URBANISM AND HIGHER ADULT EDUCATION

THE BIAS OF URBANIZATION

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Urbanization can be best understood as a dynamic force field, and, if its energy is to be utilized, consideration has to be given to the dynamic nature of the forces moving in it. The urban flow is full of forces and forms that will use and shape us unless we understand them and learn how to use and shape them for our civic purposes. On the other hand, if we understand the propensities that result from the pressures of these forces, we can prepare an urban policy to control the uses of urbanization and direct its course toward desirable ends. If men can discern definite directions in the drift of urbanization that are persistent enough to form patterns, then they can create conditions of counter drift by means of policy.

The movement of urbanization resembles the flow of a great river. Urbanization, like the river, is the source of an endless energy which can be released through dams and turbines and transformers. Cities are the dams and turbines that transform the energy into civic institutions. Among the fundamental forces of urbanization are change, motion, tension, growth, and acceleration, all of which charge the urbanization process with a natural energy. The thrusts of these forces can be traced through tendencies, and, in turn, these inherent influences cause certain consequences. Such consequences appear to differ in direct proportion to the intensity of the urbanization that takes place.

There is a logic to the urban process.

Advanced stages of urbanization tend toward increasingly involved and ever higher forms of industrialization, and of centralization, systemic and inseparable in nature. Uses of urbanization depend on how well its power is industrialized. Urgencies of urbanization insist upon industrialization to sustain them, and industrialization, in turn, possesses the propensity toward large units of production propelled by technology. The inclination toward industrialization is as infixed in education processes as it is in agriculture and manufacturing, and industrialization of education through technology is as necessary as it is inevitable. Concentration in time and space intensifies the integration of individuals and ideas, and their intellectual interplay, and this advanced urban society develops the disposition toward a centralized administration when all of its tendencies converge in a great urban system such as the United States. When the classical concept of the limited city gives way to unlimited urbanization, the inclination toward internationalization appears. Indeed, internationalization can be understood only as the universalization of urbanization.

The Bias Toward Education

The power of urbanization generates a high velocity in the urban motion which causes continual change and requires regular reorganization of civic institutions. One of these institutions is higher education, and, among the essential elements in the urban process which has to be understood if we are to direct its course in creative and constructive ways, is the inherent tendency toward education, and, as the urban process becomes more complicated, toward higher forms of education. Clearly, more and more people require higher and higher education in the unfolding urban society. This bias toward higher education stems from the highly differentiated division of labor that seeks specialized skills and new knowledge across the spectrum of the higher arts and sciences. At the same time, constant change creates a dynamic development in which higher education has to be continuing in order for it to be contemporary. Intellectual increments, which accrue as the results of research are fed into the organized body of knowledge, demand continuing education to close the gap between what is known and what has to be known in order to meet the intelligence needs of an urban age. The intensification that accompanied urbanization in turn intensifies the intellectual and creative capacities of cities, and inspires innovations in institutions. Among the institutions that have to undergo a transformation is the university, an end as well as a means of innovation.

It is no accident that the university is an urban phenomenon and that the vocations of city life in medieval Europe created the necessity for faculties of law and medicine and theology, as well as a faculty that would transmit a common competency in the arts and sciences of the *trivium* and *quadrivium*. These were, originally, the faculties of the city. Universities came into existence to give mind to the city, and they continue to exist to provide intelligence for the community.

The urgency of urbanization lifts the level of all education, calls for graduate and professional schools, and expects an entirely new species of continuing higher education to inform responsible men and women with new knowledge. New knowledge is needed for new problems, and, fortunately, urbanization processes knowledge as well as the problems. Part of the mission of higher education is to discover and organize the knowledge that can liberate urban energy.

Insistent issues in the *agora* of Athens inspired the treatises on urbanism by Plato and Aristotle; Vergil's political poetry of Augustan Rome is the propaganda of a civic history; Saint Thomas and scholasticism searched for the City of God among the ruins of Aristotle's *polis* to make policy for the cities of the Middle Ages; the foundations of Renaissance humanism as well as Reformation theology have to be understood as urban phenomena. Later, cities of the Industrial Revolution became centers of educational emphasis on science and technology. Understanding the uses of urbanization requires an urban reorganization of knowledge. On this point, a recent study, entitled *The Intellectual versus the City*, proves, at least in part, that American higher education has been transmitting an antiurban intellectual tradition, and, unfortunately, has not been concerned with creating an urban one. Certainly, the social and behavioral sciences which attempt to approximate urban sciences have neither informed nor illuminated the darkness of the urban scene, and, unfortunately, the humanities have been concerned with man alone and have helped none at all in the humanization of the city.

An Instrument of Public Policy

Inevitably, the unfolding of urbanization means that more people will expect more education at higher levels, while the plight of the unemployable is, in an urban age, a consequence of being uneducated. Poverty and its sad syndrome are the absence of education; hence, in an advanced urban society, perhaps the educational system has to become the basic component of the economy. Already, higher education is an essential element of the economic base of the city. Witness how the higher educational system of California has created the conditions for a new urban age, and how, from the time of Francis I in the sixteenth century until 1961, only one university was founded in France, but how, in the past two years, universities have been founded in a number of cities as the generatrices of an urgent urbanization designed to transform the economic base, thus breaking the power of Paris, and altering the nature of the nation. Extension of the higher educational system has become a major issue in England, and a part of the economic policy of all the political parties. Indeed, the energy of an advanced economy emanates from the educational system. As continuing education becomes the economic base of our advanced stage of urban society, learning will be the vocation of every man.

As a tentative theory of urbanism, then, I offer the hypothesis that urbanization is accompanied by a continuing educational endeavor at higher and higher levels of general and specialized education. Education, in light of this hypothesis, becomes the civic purpose; higher adult education an essential element, and the institution of higher education an indispensable instrument of public policy.

Inevitably, the bias in urbanization toward higher education is inciting issues of public policy that will require response in the form of unique urban policies. Here are a few of the incisive issues that have to be confronted immediately by the institutions of higher education:

One. The technology of communications has increased the scale of society and collapsed continental time and space to such an extent that all problems are national problems and have to be approached from the perspective of national policy. This tendency toward nationalization is inherent in the institutional involutions of this country. Can higher education counter this drift toward nationalization? Can American higher education create civic institutions that can withstand the centripetal power of the urban process?

Two. As automation transforms urban centers into cities of leisure, there will be an army of unemployables among the educated as well as among the uneducated, the vanguard of which is already visible. Can higher adult education construct a curriculum of continuing education for creative citizenship that will lift the level of American civilization into new dimensions? Can higher adult education discipline the liberties of leisure? Can ever higher adult educational endeavor become the civic purpose?

Three. In times that tend to transform intelligence into a public utility, can higher adult education create conditions for the self-realization of the individual? Urbanization acknowledges no color, no class, and no creed; the urban processes do not discriminate. Can the college and the university create the higher conditions necessary for the unique human being when all the tendencies of a societal process would homogenize humanity? Here is the task for the humanities in urban centers, but will the humanities recognize that a man becomes an adult and completes his humanity only in community?

Four. As the essential element of the emerging economic base of the ultimate urban society, higher education has to find a systematic way of sustaining the civic body with knowledge and research. The university has to inform public and private policy making with the social and life sciences. It has to inspirit with the humanities in addition to instructing with the technological sciences. What will this unification of the university and urbanization mean for the forms and functions of higher education in an advanced America?

Five. An advanced affluent society concerned with consumption requires a different species of higher education from a society struggling for productivity. This shift from an education for production to an education for consumption is the incisive issue of higher adult education in our time. What is education for consumption?

Six. Can the campus concept of higher education survive amid the urgencies of an urban age? What is the relation of the public school, the college, and the university, to the related educational energy points of the community? What is the campus of higher adult education?

Seven. If ideas and innovation are the intelligence ingredients of the advanced stage of an urban society, then the imagination has to be excited by means of education. How does the educational institution inspire the imagination of the student? How is the use of imagination in technological and social innovation to be taught? How is imagination introduced into higher adult education programs?

Eight. Urgencies of urban life require that the new knowledge of research be built into the intellectual resources of every individual. There is an enormous amount of new knowledge, and it is complex, with newer knowledge being added all the time. How can higher education arrange for the average adult, wso lives longer and longer, so that a man can have intellectual fulfillment, can reeducate himself for a new vocation, and can prepare for responsible citizenship?

Nine. As the number of people participating in higher education increases incredibly in the years ahead, will not the necessity for educational excellence lead to demands that public monies be used to finance the programs of all institutions of higher education? As an instrument of public policy, and an essential element of the economic base, will not private institutions of higher education have to be helped from the public funds? Where is the source of funds for higher adult education?

Here are insistent issues that the bias of urbanization has already brought to the critical stage of decision for the leadership of higher education in America, particularly for higher adult education.

IN SEARCH OF CIVILIZATION

by John W. Dyckman, Chairman
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I. *The Changing Urban Scene*

Almost every address on the urban problem today begins with the reminder that more than two-thirds of the population of the United States in 1965 will be concentrated in metropolitan areas. We are reminded that in 40,000 years of settlement, man has moved from densities of one person per ten square miles in hunting cultures to one person per four acres in agricultural cultures to hundreds of persons per acre in urban settlements. Scholars, as well as laymen, are bewildered by the variety of meanings attached to the word "city" today. Traditional cities and city boundaries have become poor guides to the study of urban phenomena. Urbanization has spread into the interstices between the cities and has linked them together loosely in large agglomerations.

As the U.S. population grows toward 200 million, we are approaching a situation in which absolutely fewer people may be required in production to support the population. Less than half the U.S. labor force is now engaged in "production". Productivity has outstripped population growth and especially in the areas of the world where population is growing most slowly. In the face of this relative abundance, direct contact between human application and productive processes has diminished. People are freed from work; they enjoy the shorter work week, longer vacations, and earlier retirement. In the economy of abundance, firms are freed in their location decisions; workers are less tied to individual jobs, and they move the residence farther from any given job. Traditional resource bases and locational criteria can no longer account for the bulk of urban growth.

The improvement of communications and transportation, the growth of large corporate enterprises, the centralization of business decisions, and the ever increasing specialization and division of labor have destroyed the old self-contained community and greatly reduced purely local goods and services. The result is a marked national tilt from north and east to south and west. At the same time, measured by population shifts in the decade 1950 to 1960, which show slight acceleration of longer term trends, the interior of the nation was subjected to further "hollowing out". The population was further concentrated on the megalopolitan complexes of the eastern seaboard, Great Lakes, Gulf States, and Pacific Coast strips. In part, these movements reflect the fact that decision makers once freed from local ties tend to prefer areas where attractions are greatest. At the same time, the search for amenities has caused some decentralization *within* metropolitan areas, with great growth of the fringes at the expense of the central cores.

This new urban system is marked by a weakening of the ties of *place*, just as we have seen weakening of the ties of *folk* and *work*, the once hallowed trinity of LaPlay and Geddes. Indeed, in the new urban system the functional specialization of interest in occupation transcends traditional ties of place so completely that for some businesses and professions the country is just five hours wide and two hours deep – or the minimum jet travel time to span it. As a result, the twentieth century transportation-communication system of the country is focussed on regional jet ports, New York-Washington, Chicago and its tributaries such as Cleveland and St. Louis, Dallas-Houston, and San Francisco-Los Angeles.

The traditional classification of cities as "industrial", "commercial", "governmental", etc., which one learned in descriptive geography 20 years ago, cries out for redefinition. We are not likely again to see the industrial cities, which were a collection of work villages, consolidating the settlements around industrial plants such as South Chicago, Pullman, Hawthorne, Lawrenceville, or McKeesport. Even as specialization and division of labor have grown, the product mix has changed.

All of these processes move unevenly. While we have been obliterating much of the historic distinction between rural and urban man, we have discovered stubborn pockets of village culture in the cities, particularly in ethnic neighborhoods. The processes of the urban land markets, the various forms of urban redevelopment and property re-use, have long washed over these villages, and only now, with governmental help, are beginning to erode themselves forever. Old institutions, which either served these villages, or lived comfortably alongside them, are dismayed at the change, particularly when these relatively stable organizations are superseded by seemingly unstable or bewilderingly volatile occupants from the rural backlands.

The new basis of class or caste distinction emphasizes urban sophistication and education even more strongly than traditional forms of success. The education-based class distinctions are supplemented by the consumption styles associated with education. Sophistication must be displayed in the refinement of individual consumption, in a kind of exaggerated gourmet display; consumer expertise in hi-fi, wines, sports cars, and vacation trips is constantly on display, particularly in the growing edge of this consumption-oriented society in California.

In a high-consumption heavily-leisured society, the traditional urban arts are bound to be modified. If the work week falls to four days, and the work day to six hours (anything less involves too much changing of shifts), play becomes a major occupation rather than a respite. With the weakening relation to work, there has been an inevitable erosion of the norms of rationality, precision, and control of time. Much of the calculating precision has been transformed to machines, which are more accurate than men have ever been. Traditional production processes can be operated by remote control with great reliability — as any highly automated enterprise, such as the petroleum refinery, witnesses daily.

The historical reasons for the concentrations of the great urban centers are fading away. Of the external economies of production, some elements, such as the labor pool, still remain; but even these are attenuated by shifts in population. The old *agora*, the historic *bourse*, or the financial City remain more for symbolic than functional reasons. Those areas in which face-to-face contact are deemed important are principally the new "nonproductive" businesses like advertising, radio, and television. The main pull of the central city is now cultural and consumption-centered, not "productive". The city center which is not a consumption center nor an attractive play place does not long survive.

The productive inputs for this affluent society are increasingly intellectual inputs. Much of this capital is produced in universities or in government-established centers which act as university adjuncts. These centers are less monastic than their historic counterparts, but they provide a refuge for extraordinarily work-oriented inhabitants. In the midst of the declining work week in traditional "outside" production, the academic work week has lengthened appreciably, the more so when the academician becomes involved in the daily transfer of his learning through the apparatus of industry and government.

As one might expect, the aesthetics of this new urban society has markedly changed. The production of "art" has increased enormously, but there has been no technological revolution in the arts, and production lags far behind the rapidly growing consumption. Indeed, to realize the extent of this lag one need only speculate on the demands on originality which would be posed by the extraordinary increase in channels of communication — particularly television and radio — if requirements of original programming were maintained. Indeed the very redundancy which so many of us deplore in the mass media is in part defensive — the task of fresh programming is extraordinarily difficult. College education, which is a marvelous institution for training tastes, whatever else its contributions to liberal education, has been greatly extended, and in its growth has produced a large volume of cultivated consumers. The WPA ideal of the folk art has not captured the aesthetics of the modern industrial era, just as the architecture of the era of pedestrians was outmoded by the visual aesthetics of a high speed era.

The old standards by which we judge and evaluate cities are themselves under assault. It is difficult to attach meaning to the notion of an urban aesthetic, if place is not intrinsic, if work is receding in importance, if consumption is ever more private, and if civic unity and purpose are hard to locate. In California, which represents the most "advanced" tendencies in our society, the art object for half the population (female half) is the home; and recreation, sport, and play of all kinds supersede civic duties as the preoccupations of the men. Conservative San Francisco, which is a holdout for the older virtues in some of these respects, is considered an "eastern" city by many new Californians.

II. *The Changing Tasks of Higher Education*

Traditionally, the urban service professions in America were caretaker occupations. Their origins were in the respectable upper- and middle-class Anglo-Saxon Protestant effort to tame the unruly and unacculturated immigrants. The city manager profession grew out of the corruption and confusion of the rapidly growing post-Civil War industrial city. Scientific management and bureaucratization went together as in the introduction of the school superintendency in public education. Social work, less business-like, but sharing the outlook and aspirations of the other urban management professions, took the fight into the very heartland of the enemy — the neighborhood of the immigrant. City planning, as a professional discipline, was a product of these very movements. Contemporary city planning is still struggling to free itself of some of the fundamentalist positions of this movement and of some of the apparatus which was invented to carry out that work.

Just as the settlement house persists and seeks new functions long after its essential purpose has vanished, so the city planning movement is struggling to come to grips with the tasks of the contemporary city, including the Herculean task of redefining the concept of "city". Land use control through *zoning* originated in rural areas and transmigrated to the city, where it became a principal tool of the urban planner. Today, this defensive police power control is hopelessly outmoded, and zoning has been progressively modified in concept until it no longer retains much of its original doctrine.

Even more important than the lag in individual institutions, or in the technology of the professions, is the severe lag in the conceptions of the society which these institutions serve, and of the needs of the clients. I have suggested earlier that the planner might be misled by preoccupation with the traditional trilogy of Folk, Work, and Place. The fundamental changes implied in the weakening of these traditional organizing principles of urban society have implications for the other service professions as well. If work is not a particular organizing principle, and people can live in various relations to it, much of our system of rewards is challenged. In a society in which the accumulation of capital and the productivity of capital through growing technical advances have progressed as far as they have in the United States, the contribution of people to the productive process becomes much more roundabout, and the ability to trace that contribution and to reward it diminishes.

There are few economists who believe that we will "solve" our unemployment problem in the United States in the next twenty to twenty-five years. One reason for the pessimistic outlook on unemployment or, for that matter, for the disposition to treat it as a "problem", is our adherence to the notion that people should be paid only what they "earn". Fundamental conceptions of the relations of individual productivity to the rates of pay underlie our whole statement of the problem. But in a society in which it is not possible to gainfully employ the whole of the labor force, and for which no such prospect looms, there may be strong pressure to revise our notion of human worth.

A man must not be valued only for his contribution to production. As a society, we must not forget that production is itself instrumental, and serves consumption. If we could find a way to distribute access to consumption along some socially acceptable lines, the problem of unemployment would recede in importance. Its main hold on our society results from the necessity to use consumption as an incentive to secure production for more consumption. When the need for these incentives diminishes, as in chronic excess capacity and excess production, there is less reason for continuing our traditional mythology.

Similarly, our attitudes towards money, towards place, and towards voting and representation are undergoing transformation. There are those who are now prepared to challenge the divinity of local government and the sanctity of the profit system. There are even those who would argue that planning is too important an activity to be the monopoly property of large private corporations in our society. But the professions trained in the universities lag far behind the perceptions of the writers and social critics. The professional schools are steadfastly conservative in preparation for practice. Like the social work profession for many years, they continue to train practitioners for real or symbolic settlement house activities.

Educators, at the higher education level as well as lower levels, have a poor perception of their own function in this society. The line between the professor and the politician and businessman has been erased by the scuffling feet of thousands of crossers. Today, more businessmen and politicians have had higher education than in the past, and find it easier to talk to intellectuals or to professors. More of the professors, in turn, are now serving in advisory or other capacities in business and government. They have learned something in the exchange, but there is still a tendency to hold to the university as a refuge — as a monastery to which one can repair when his views become unpopular or the going gets tough.

In North America, unlike Latin America, the campus is not a physical refuge. Indeed, it may be that the myth of the campus and the college town as ideal seats of learning has finally been exploded. The campus of today's university community is not rooted in place. Professors are among the most traveled men in our society. National and international conferences have proliferated. The ties of these men are not to a particular campus, but to international communities of scholars in their respective fields. The effects of "banishment" to some remote geographic location are not significant, so long as the travel budget of the institution holds out.

Nevertheless, in turning to place, the caretaker professions have lagged in their appreciation of the social and cultural changes which are occurring in the more rooted society. There remains a strong disposition in our society to treat education as a ladder to economic, social, and political advancement. For those who have access to all the rungs, this is true, but serious questions of education as a *mass* ladder may be raised. The underprivileged groups in the society have no access to the new types of education or to the varied campuses in which it takes place. Indeed, within a given city, the underprivileged may be locked into some small "turf" and have no special knowledge of the cultural resources of the city. In Middle Eastern cities today, there is some evidence that the tribes moving into the cities in rapid urban expansion may be transplanting the villagers to an urban setting with few of the advantages of either. Similarly, I think that Puerto Rican and sometimes Negro enclaves in the larger American cities are effective village compartments in an urban setting. Only a portion of the populations making that move ever obtain access to the genuine urban experience.

In planning for our cities, we must consider ways of opening access socially and culturally as well as physically. We have done an excellent job, with certain reservations and drawbacks, on the problem of automobile transportation, despite the fundamental criticisms which one might make of the suitability of this form of transportation. We have done much less in the social and cultural dimensions, and have made little progress, until the Negro revolution of the past few years, on the political side. Inevitably, social planning must take its place alongside physical planning in the reconstruction of our cities.

The physical planners in turn must be more attentive to the changes in technology, and to the consequences which those changes have, not only on urban form, but on the statement of the urban problem. An outstanding characteristic of our time is the enormous size of the "external effects" attendant on scientific-technological innovations. Rather belatedly, the planners are recognizing that the internal combustion engine, distributed almost one to a user, is not only expensive, spacewise, in the city, but a serious pollutant of our atmosphere. As aircraft are extended in range and in speed, they become less comfortable neighbors as a result of sonic booms and related noises and vibrations. Even such housewifely aids as detergents are suddenly discovered to have mass external effects on streams and water systems, when they are made of non-biodegradable alkyd-aryl sulfonates. The radio-active fallout from nuclear testing has alarmed the nation, joining the cause of those who worry about their children and children's children with that of those conservationists who are concerned about the caribou and the vegetation.

Fewer and fewer aspects of our contemporary life are purely "local" in consequence. The interests of citizens are likely to be divided in place when those citizens work in one place, live in another, and depend most heavily on decisions made in a third. The new citizenship which must be forged in America cannot be provincial. It must find kinship with the citizenship of the Romans which, though proudly entertained, referred to membership in a society abiding by certain laws, rather than residence in a particular place.

I look forward to the emergence of more social planning in the sense of the effort to plan for a whole society, emphasizing the interdependence of activities and the shared consequence of certain program actions. Such planning must recognize that there may be unplanned consequences of planned actions, and that these may deserve attention equal to that given the planned programs themselves.

Standards of world knowledge and literacy — in science as well as verbal material — are increasing very rapidly. Vocational training for the handicraft skills that constituted the core of traditional curricula will need to be drastically revised or be left as anachronistic curiosities. The use of the vocational school as a catch basin for less educable slum children is a ghastly effect of out-of-date thinking.

Indeed, what needs to be taught in these schools is a citizenship in a new world community, in which our country and its cities take their rightful places, rather than a narrow community of job and home. The excessive preoccupation with individual productivity, which was so important in Calvinist doctrine and capitalist mores, is likely to be anachronistic in a world in which capital is the dominant factor of productivity and in which the individual's relation to the production process is weakened by indirectness. Economists are recognizing that the ultimate source of productivity shifts to research and knowledge — that is, to human capital. The conditions of management of that capital are quite different from those of management of physical equipment. Human inputs cannot be run as regularly as machine inputs (at least original thinking cannot), and the importance of regular measurement of time — embodied in the punch clock — will diminish for production.

We may eventually come to value human beings independently of considerations of productivity, or the ability to earn money by work. Indeed, we may come to the point where money is itself not the most important measure of value. Some of the romantic rural bias which clings to American culture may even be a handicap in a world which is overwhelmingly urbanized. Perhaps we will devise new mass media for the transmission of a social and technical culture appropriate to the 20th Century. If the technology of production is changing and work is receding in importance, play norms are rising in importance. The arts of consumption, it turns out, are as worthy of careful cultivation as the arts of production once were. The housewives have discovered this, and are proceeding in this direction, albeit in an unsophisticated way. In a more important sense, the acceptance of this view can revolutionize the outlook of the caretaker professions. Certainly, unless the outlook of these professions does accommodate to the changing society, they will be replaced by other caretakers. In the last analysis we are, indeed, the clerks of the culture.

URBANIZATION AND ADULT EDUCATION

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The word "urbanization" has been subject to considerable confusion — it has meant too much and too little. I have found that for my own purposes it is useful to specify three quite different sets of phenomena to which the term may refer. These are: (1) increasing scale of organization in the society, (2) the aggregation of people in cities, and (3) the shift in the culture of the human collective in the direction of a more urbane way of life or, as it is sometimes called, "urbanism". In my view, the concept of increasing scale of organization is the most important one, for by this we mean the increasing extent of the networks of interdependence which relate people to each other.

Increasing scale of organization has come about as a result of several intertwined processes, one of the most important results from growing reliance upon non-human energy in the form of fossil fuels, hydroelectric power, and other substitutes for the animal muscle. Related to this, but not directly deducible from it, is what has been called the shifting space-time ratio — that is, the decreasing cost in time and other scarce resources for movement over space. Equally important, though sometimes neglected, *human organizational* innovations have had a lot to do with the emergence of our increasingly large scale society. For large scale organization requires elaborate social machinery for coordinating the behavior of thousands of millions of people over space and time. The social inventions this includes are too numerous to catalogue, but I think much of the ingenuity has centered around one organizational form: the bureaucracy. Bureaucracy, that highly rationalized and specific social machine, characterizes large organizations whether their purpose is the governing of a country, the manufacture of automobiles, the organization of workers for collective bargaining, the widespread broadcast of formal education, or even the development of innovations.

The net effect of the increasing scale of component organizations in the society has been the increasing scale of the moving total. The very increase in the size of unions and corporations forces the increase in size of government. As this occurs, our centers of decision-making become the centers of the giant organizations; and these are located for the most part in very large urban aggregations. Thus as society increases in scale, we become increasingly dependent upon what happens far away; at the same time we are increasingly independent of the pressures generated near at home. This is probably one reason for the diffused anxiety about the economic future which one finds in large scale society; nobody can be certain that he can affect in any way the economic transactions whose net results mean prosperity or ruin for him personally.

A second aspect of urbanization, the aggregation of people in cities, has in the past been the *most* striking symptom of the process. Some have even confused the city with the change in the society that makes possible its existence. Without going this far, we can note that the city is the place where the organizational knots occur, the place in which we find the headquarters and workshops of many of the giant bureaucracies, and the place where they relate to one another through the market and through government. However, if we separate the increasing scale of the society from the aggregation of people in cities, it is obvious that with increasing ability to move in space we have increasing ability to decentralize, to scatter workshops and residences, to move towards what does indeed seem to be our future — the giant "conurbation".

By urbanism we mean that style of life which has been characteristic of the city dweller as distinguished from the peasant or farmer. Urbanism has probably never been nearly as impressive intellectually and aesthetically as the enthusiasts of the city would have us believe; after all, there is the "urbanism" of the working man, the "urbanism" of the pariah, the "urbanism" of the ethnic type who dwells within his segregated neighborhood. Nevertheless, there are radical changes in the culture of the human collective as societies expand in scale. Men must become more aware of the facts of organizational life, as their destinies become dependent upon them. They must tend to think rationally about their relationships with others, and they probably become much less emotionally identified with a given routine and given loyalties in the process.

Now, it is just as societies increase in scale that the importance of formal education increases. For the ability to make and to operate the machines, those tools to which we harness non-human energy, requires a considerable amount of specialized knowledge; the ability to think and act in terms of the large scale — in fact a *national* system — also requires training. The ability to use the symbols that are so important, the social bookkeeping which makes possible continuity of policy through time and surveillance of policy at a given point in time requires, again, education. Equally important, the increasing scale of society forces an increasing competence in the engineering of the social organization. The manager, the staff-man, the trouble-shooter, the fixer, the operator, are types we all recognize as the necessary technicians for operating large-scale society. Thus it is easy to see that education is a strong competitor for scarce resources, as societies increase in scale.

Education need not be viewed, however, as merely the extension of practical intelligence. We may look at it as also an intrinsic value, a creative act having significance in its own right. This is, I think, what is usually meant by liberal education. We are in the business of creating people, indeed of creating ourselves, a business at least as important as creating electric light bulbs and thermonuclear devices. And one suspects that there has always been a large degree of genuine commitment to this notion among both educators and the educated. Universal compulsory public education may have obscured this, through its widespread drafting of candidates for literacy into the overcrowded and under-taught schools. Nevertheless, even this innoculation has undoubtedly "taken" in innumerable instances; those who come as conscripts sometimes stay as willing participants.

In the past adult education has played an important role in the increasing supply of skills necessary for the large scale society. Perhaps its most important function for the individual was increasing his earning power through increasing these skills. At the same time there was certainly some desire for "self-improvement" driving many of the adult scholars. For some people wanted more money. The enormous demands which the continuous industrial revolution, and the parallel organizational revolution, made upon the society for trained personnel was then at the root of much of the adult educational activities. Adult education alone could not have done the job however; it has always been complemented by informal learning. Many of the working men of the 19th century got nothing but on-the-job training.

However the very processes of organizational expansion which made adult education so meaningful seem to be continuing beyond the point where our present adult education can be very helpful. The world created by the factories supported innovation which is today automating the factories. The world which created enormously productive agriculture has left us today with a negative demand for labor force in agriculture. In fact, the bulk of our labor force, over half of it, is today in the white collar jobs — those which focus work upon the manipulation of symbols and the manipulation of people. As a consequence of this change in the skills that are demanded in our society, together with the enormous efficiency of the machines we substitute for muscles, we have a situation in which our labor force appears to be moving toward a simple dichotomy between the college educated professional or technician on one hand, and the unemployed on the other. This is of course a major national crisis, because we have no way to give a person a living except through his employment in an economic enterprise. No alternative, that is, except the dole.

This raises the important question: what distribution of potential skills really exists in the population? We have all seen the bell-shaped curve of the I.Q. distribution. According to this, half the population has an I.Q. of 100 or less. Is our society going to demand work within the abilities of this half of the population? And, if not, what should we do about them? Or, supposing the bell-shaped curve were an artifact of our educational processes (and here I mean more than simply our teaching methods), how could we find this out? What kind of leverage would it give us on the important goal of raising the effective abilities of a large part of the American people? Since many of the people who are unemployed today and those who will be unemployed tomorrow are beyond free public education, it is likely that adult educators will have to do whatever is done about testing out the rigidity of the bell-shaped curve.

Let us also consider the problem of the college-educated, the employed, the privileged class of the society. For them there is another question, one which rather startled me when I first saw it posed: what shall we do about the social problem of leisure? Having done my stint on a west Texas farm, sunup to sundown, it had not occurred to me that leisure was a social problem. However, as I thought about it, it became clear that here was an area of increasing magnitude in which the rules of the game, and therefore human significance, were increasingly muddled and confused. One might say that Americans, having gone to the school of hard knocks all of their lives, have suddenly matured and graduated from that school.

The increasing surplus of time, energy, wealth, communications, has resulted then in a loss, or at least a change, in significance. We have more free time and it means less. It seems to me that part of this, as David Riesman has remarked, is due to the persistence of our puritanical heritage. The puritanical morality insisted that all that was really meaningful had to do with the values generated by scarcity and left us little base for generating values out of surplus and plenty. We have a true embarrassment of riches, we literally blush at our freedom.

However, like most social problems, the problem of leisure is also an opportunity. For the first time in the history of the human race we have a society in which potentially we are all members of a leisure class. We might then ask, what are the possible goals of a society freed from tribal constraints and the discipline of poverty? I think of models: the social actor and public citizen, the craftsman and maker, the dancer and performer. These goals seem to me potentially popular through a wide range of people. And the question in my mind is this: can adult education as it is now oriented provide a sensible response to the major problem – the embarrassing problems of plenty?

THE CLASSICAL CITY AND EDUCATION

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A study of the structure of the ancient city in its political, social, intellectual and religious aspects shows that there was a special function of education as a part of the overall activity and life of the *polis* of classical Greece and of the Hellenistic city and the Christian city in the Graeco-Roman world.[1] Beginning with Aristotle's *Politics* (whose Greek title literally means "The Art of Living in a City") we may trace the influence of education on the community, and of the community on education.[2] To this extent it can be said that education had a determining influence on the history of the ancient world.

In spite of the obvious differences between ancient and modern cities, in size, scale, population, social organization and political structure, there are certain basic principles of education as the preparation for citizenship and for private life which are independent of time and location, and have universal validity.

In classical Greece, before it attempted any form of federal or national government, the city or *polis* was the sovereign and independent unit, the center of the citizen's activities and loyalties. As such, the city was the only possible center of civilization, for it was only in the context of city life, the Greeks believed, that civilization could come into being and continue to exist. It is no accident that our words "politics" and "civilization" are descendants of Greek and Latin words, *polis* and *civis*, which were in continual use in antiquity as the common terms for "city" and "citizen."

Today the nation has replaced the city-state of antiquity, yet the modern city has kept some of its old meaning as a center – though no longer the chief center – of the citizen's life. Examination of the form and function of the ancient city suggests the terms in which the modern age should consider the city-dweller's relationship with his city, and seek to determine whether it is possible to restore some of the citizen's special attachment to his city, and involvement in its life, which was characteristic of the ancient world, although modern political developments have made the nation the citizen's ultimate focus of loyalty.

Plato's and Aristotle's studies of the contemporary city, which have come down to us in such a form that they may seem to be philosophical treatises composed in academic surroundings, actually grew out of their long practical experience as educators and their concern over some theories of education and political life, then being put forward in Athens, which they regarded as false and dangerous. Both Plato and Aristotle had come to be deeply impressed by the importance of education in the whole context of the city. Their observation and reflection had made it clear to them that the educational process involved the whole person and affected all aspects of life in the community. Aristotle, building on Plato's doctrine as recorded in the *Republic* and the *Laws*, was especially anxious to make it plain, when he wrote the *Politics*, that the city's educational program was the fundamental factor in the development of citizenship and in the preparation for the truest and best life of the citizen in the city.

The society of the classical Greek city differed from ours in that it was essentially aristocratic and was based on slave labor, the slaves being not only foreign barbarians, but Greeks. Slaves and free members of the lower classes were not considered to be worthy of education since the circumstances of their lives did not free their minds for inquiry and learning. A further difference between the ancient world and the present is that there was no free public education. Parents had to pay for their children's tuition, and a child's education depended on his family's ability to find a suitable teacher.

Aristotle on the Polis *and Education*

In spite of these differences, Aristotle – who was one of the greatest biologists of all time and was accustomed to try to reduce ideas and procedures to their simplest possible terms – was able to isolate the significance of the activities of the citizen, and the elements needed in his education, which today still show the true function of education in the setting of the city.

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[1] The lectures summarized here are to be published, in expanded form, by the University of Oklahoma Press.

[2] The translation and study which provides the most assistance for the modern reader is that of Ernest Barker, *The Politics of Aristotle*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1946. It is available in an abridged edition in paperback form. The abridged edition lacks most of the introduction and some of the text of the original edition but retains the commentary.

If some of Aristotle's key ideas are brought together, they will show how he always considered it essential to think of the citizen and the educational program as related aspects of the larger context of the city:

"Man is by nature a creature intended to live in a *polis*. Therefore every *polis* exists in accordance with nature, for it is the natural completion of the partnerships and associations that exist according to nature...

"The purpose of the *polis* is not merely life, but a good quality of life . . . A *polis* is not just a chance collection of people; it is a community which is self sufficient for the needs of life . . . The primary factor for the equipment of a *polis* is people; the material factor — land — is secondary. People are more important than property or wealth...

"Since the *polis* is a plurality and an aggregate of many members, the way that it is necessary to make it into a working partnership and a unity is through education . . . The greatest of the means to ensure the stability of the government is the education of the citizens in the spirit of their government . . . The legislator should give special attention to the education of the young, for the government will suffer if education is neglected . . .

"We cannot consider that any citizen belongs to himself, but that all belong to the state . . . The people who can be trained to become good citizens must possess a natural endowment that combines personal spirit with intelligence...

"The goodness of the good man, and the goodness of the good citizen in the best *polis*, are the same thing . . . The happiness and the good life of the *polis* are the same as the happiness and good life of the individual . . . Man becomes happy in proportion as he is virtuous and wise, and acts accordingly. The same is true of the *polis* when it acts rightly and is happy."

One of the most characteristic and instructive features of Aristotle's thought in all his study of the city and its needs and activities is that he thinks in terms of people, rather than of institutions or organizations. If the city functions as an institution, it does so through the individual activities of its citizens, acting in partnership with one another. The patterns and rules of the community, including the educational program, were always, in Aristotle's recommendations, to be formulated with regard to people and in consideration of their needs.

Aristotle regularly has in mind a reciprocal relationship, namely the responsibility of the individual to the city or community, and the responsibility of the city or community to the individual. The citizen is to be educated in such a way that he can make his proper contribution to the city or community. At the same time the city, through its responsible officials, must always be aware that it has a contribution to make to the citizen. The citizen looks to the city not only for his personal safety and protection and for his opportunity to make a living, but for his social nurture, his education, his religion, and, in a word, his preparation both for his necessary occupation and for his leisure. Aristotle lays special weight on education for the best use of leisure; this, he believes, is as important for the city as it is for the citizen.

Every qualified citizen of the city was considered to have certain well defined responsibilities to himself, to his family, and to his city. These responsibilities all went together. One could not have one group of responsibilities without having the other. And one could not be a true citizen without bearing these responsibilities. It was impossible for the individual on his initiative to draw an imaginary dividing line between his personal privacy and his public duties.

Hence, in Aristotle's thought, it is essential for the educational program to show the individual what he is — to show him the purpose of his life, the nature of the society or community in which he lives, and his role in the society or community. Without this understanding, man cannot live a life that is satisfactory either to himself or to his community. Thus it is essential that the educational program be such that the city or community have a correct understanding of its own nature. The community, to Aristotle, has a life of its own, which is made up of and reflects the lives of its citizens acting in their capacity as citizens. If the educational program does not prepare its people for their duties, then the community is in danger of losing its self-understanding, and this naturally brings the loss of its unity and strength.

Further, education is the basis not only of the social and political structure of the community, but of the moral goodness of its people. It is clear in Aristotle's writings on both ethics and politics that he views ethics and politics as the same thing. He has much to say on ethics in the *Politics* as he has to say on politics in the *Ethics*. Thus the educational program, to Aristotle, should be such that ethics is understood as a part of politics, and politics as a part of ethics.

The great responsibility, and the great opportunity, of the *polis* was to protect and develop human personality. If everyone agreed on the goal of life in the *polis* and worked toward it, the *polis* would be a success. However, if people were indifferent toward the goal and lived in the city merely for their own convenience and profit, then the *polis* could only be a failure. The special aim of education in the *polis* was to produce citizens who understood the nature of the *polis* and were prepared to devote themselves to the good of the life of the community.

The educational system aimed to refine the human mind and develop its potential powers through the study of classical literature and philosophy. In the works of the great writers of Greece human nature was depicted in every aspect of activity and motivation. It was on this basis that the citizen would be best prepared for his responsibilities, personal and public, and a city composed of such citizens would be the ideal civic community and center of civilized life.

With the arrival of Christianity came a new basis for the life of the community. Christians thought of themselves as forming the Body of Christ. The Christian city on earth represented the heavenly Jerusalem, the city of God. This was the ideal, but so long as part of the world remained pagan, Christians had perforce to live in an earthly city, the city of man, with their pagan neighbors.

In the earliest days of the church, the Christians lived apart, within the city, as a special community. The Graeco-Roman city had, in fact, ceased to be a true *polis* because it now housed separate communities, such as Christians, Jews, and "natives" of the Syrian and Egyptian territories of the Empire who by reason of their birth were not eligible for the traditional classical education. Thus as an inevitable result of historical circumstances the city lost its original character and became an aggregate of communities which represented different ethnic and cultural traditions.

The Christian communities within the cities, as they grew, became more and more aware of themselves as brotherhoods within a universal body, which potentially included all mankind. At first they had kept themselves away from the classical educational curriculum because some of its contents were not suited for Christians. Gradually, however, some Christian thinkers, themselves educated in the classical tradition, came to realize that the inherent value of the moral teaching of the classical philosophers need not be sacrificed because other pagan writings were undesirable for the young. The best parts of the classical course of study were gradually adopted by Christian teachers as a valuable adjunct to the training of character.

Thus Christian education, as a new tradition, came to play a part in the new Christian city that classical education had played in the classical *polis*, with the difference that Christian education derived its sanction from a divine authority where the classical educational curriculum had depended upon human approval and authority. The Christian city lived on the basis of a memory of historical events which were different in kind from the historical events which formed the basis for life in the classical *polis*. Education in the Christian community was able to achieve a unique fullness when it added the best elements of the classical course of study to the teaching which formed the basis of Christian life.

This amalgam provided the basis, in the imperial Christian city such as the Constantinople of Justinian, for a unity of religion, culture and the government in which each element supported and strengthened the other. A part of the reason why this was possible, and successful, was that there was only one orthodox church, and the emperor was the responsible head of both the church and the state.

Throughout all ancient thought on education, pagan and Christian alike, one of the guiding principles was the obligation of the educational program and curriculum to respect and develop the value of the individual. This concern for the individual was, in fact, one of the fundamental beliefs on which Greek political theory was built. The ideal form of human life was exhibited by the free citizen and the self-governing community, and this form existed, in its freest and most fruitful terms, in the *polis*. In the Christian city the individual was likewise the basic element in the community, though Christianity of course taught a different understanding of the nature of the individual and the source of his life.

In both the classical *polis* and the Christian city, the reciprocal and continuing relationship and interaction of the individual and the community were the source of power and energy which made the city, in Aristotle's view, a living organism, possessed of its own vitality and, like the individual, its own potential for both good and evil. Thus the city, as an organism, was a creative force; and in the same way the whole city, in all of its activity, was an educational force and instrument, in the largest sense of education.

Out of the history of the city, thus created and maintained by the activities of its people, sprang the ever-renewed power of the city to authenticate itself, that is, to demonstrate by the quality of its life and activities that it was the best and truest form of life for both citizen and community.

And so the city and its citizens, if they were to achieve their true goal in life and enjoy their proper function, must make a commitment. On the basis of the citizens' beliefs in their purpose in life, and in the nature of the good life, the city must be committed to follow a certain course of action. Such a commitment implied a creed of urban life, and a standard of values and a basis upon which choices must be made. Here the city, if it was to understand itself, must always have before it Aristotle's conception of ethics and politics as essentially related, representing two aspects of the same thing.

EDUCATION FOR CIVIC POLICY

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American education — in all its forms and at all levels — consistently underplays the importance of civic policy. State, national and international policies get all the attention even though it is civic policy which most directly affects the citizen in his everyday living; and it is in directing his local affairs that the ordinary citizen can hope to experience any real democratic participation.

This has been the situation for several reasons:

1. Americans have never really respected or loved cities. The Jeffersonian ideal of freedom in a rural society has predominated. Big cities are, by legend and folklore, the sinful places. As a result very few American cities have developed solid civic histories and loyalties. Philadelphia, Boston, St. Louis and San Francisco are exceptions.

2. Local government has never been considered a matter worthy of scholarly attention. "Frontier" theories of economics and government have stressed the unincorporated area, vigilante government, rugged individualism. Interest in cities has been mainly in their pathology, as in the case of the "muckrakers".

3. The economic base of the city has never stabilized. Unbridled exploitation of our natural resources was carried over into our cities and produced a lawless attitude toward property and land use. Slums, pollution, crime and ugliness have resulted. Further, industrialization, upon which our cities have been built, depended for labor upon hordes of immigrants of mixed national origins. These groups had no common language, no common culture — in short, no community of interests save making money. Personal wealth was the standard of measure; civic virtue was unknown. The result: cynics concerned with the hard facts of life on one side, "do-gooders" on the other. Neither extremist was really competent to organize and conduct stable government.

4. America, generally, has not been policy-oriented. Improvisation and opportunism served us so well in the days of frontier development that we tend to continue this approach. Even when national policies are established, there is little success in having them translated in local terms.

At present, a majority of Americans live in urban metropolitan areas, directly dependent on cities for their livelihood. Cities produce a major share of the Gross National Product. Most of the House of Representatives come from urban areas. National defense policies, transportation policies, export-import balances — in short, even foreign policy, depend upon the city.

Civic Policy Defined

Civic policy consists of a set of decisions made and implemented by publicly constituted bodies, aimed at achieving specific objectives within a legally defined physical, social and political context. The power to make civic policy is derived from the police and taxing powers. The instrumentality is some form of elected body which delegates and assigns tasks to a variety of appointive staffs. This is a fairly clear-cut table of organization and the flow of power can be traced. Objectives for policy, however, have not been clearly defined.

Objectives for civic policy emerge from economic considerations, local history, social values, and political exigencies. As economic considerations take new shapes under the impact of industrialization and social values change, objectives get dimmer and more confused.

In every major issue, American civic policy has tripped over a tangle of values, competing political and economic interests, and a local history that is more folklore than a firm record of precedent and loyalty. As a result, local issues are never quite fully formulated. Formulations are vague; certain issues are submerged; temporary difficulties are mistaken for long range problems; and always there is the hope that some brilliantly improvised opportunity — "yankee ingenuity" — will "get us off the hook".

This is so for several reasons:

1. There is a lack of institutionalized, dependable procedures for conducting research into problems. By and large, educational institutions steer clear of such research.

2. There is no policy machinery for using the findings of research or disseminating these findings to various policy bodies and publics.

3. Controversy or public debate is largely miseducative. The objective is victory over the opponent or just getting the maximum attention.

Education has at least two missions in civic affairs. In civic controversy, it is to render such controversy truly educative by "unloading" all factions through the introduction of fact-finding procedures, establishing a context for reasonable presentation, and encouraging vigorous assessment of all implications and consequences of policy proposals. In policy formulation, it is to construct research methods and train research personnel which win the respect of both sides of any controversy. This will require continuous collaboration between specialists in public and private sectors of policy.

Civic policy must be based upon a realistic notion of the economic base of the city. The Gross Municipal Product concept must be developed. This should replace the usual static standards of economic position which emphasize vested wealth, industry and land holdings. Educational, medical, cultural institutions, manpower and activities must be reckoned as part of the Gross Municipal Product. Investment in planning and urban renewal are more important than the more traditional investments.

In order to develop civic policy, the core of the city must be redefined as a central city not as a central business district (CBD). CBD is a unilateral concept of the function of the city. It is dead or dying. The architecture and design of central city are especially important. It is here that citizens grasp a sense of significance or emptiness in their civic existence.

A comprehensive plan, a community renewal program, a capital improvement program, an economic development program – all constitute the comprehensive planning component for civic policy.

All the local schools must instruct the pupils in all of the components listed above. This curriculum in civic affairs should have a central place throughout elementary and secondary education. Classes, field trips, officials and specialists for teaching assignments are required to keep civic policy a vital part of every child's education.

It is important, finally, to distinguish basic issues from their manifestations in given difficulties and problems in order that an effective educational response may be devised. Difficulty, problem, and civic issue may be differentiated, for instance, as follows:

1. Difficulty: unresolved tension – felt need – irritation – frustration. For example: "no place to park downtown".

2. Problem: difficulties experienced are intellectualized into a more rational category; they are related to other factors; time, cost and personal responsibility dimensions are added; in short, intellect is added to feelings. For example: a parking lot is considered to be the problem, or a bad street pattern, or some other combination of factors and events.

3. Issue: problems become a civic issue when they are formulated in terms of conflicting proposals for policy; debate and dialectic are added to feeling the frustration and relating and grouping data. Inquiry and reason are not sufficient. The political process is ultimately sought to decide among proposals for parking solutions. Street changes are weighed; various garage proposals are assessed; public transit is reviewed.

The educational response to the formulation of issues is to identify and distinguish:

1. The socio-psychological phenomena – who is feeling what difficulties and who is saying what about it?

2. The strategic dimensions – which is the "critical path" in terms of financial costs? political costs?

3. The civic purpose – which proposals are consistent with the city's mainstream of growth and development, will employ the resources available for the highest and best uses?

Stated in somewhat different terms: Research is needed to sort out the emotions from the facts, a system of planning is needed to sort out needed changes; and a policies plan is needed to relate the entire process to the past in a consistent way.

There are a number of policies categories that impinge upon civic affairs. These must be carefully identified and related for maximum benefit to the civic policy. There are federal policies, state policies, regional agreements and compacts, policies of industry, religion, health and welfare agencies, school boards, unions, civic groups, etc. In a policies plan, all are assessed and related to specific objectives.

Urban life is carried on through a system of institutions which both civilize and educate, record and contain, mitigate and direct human life. This institutional system is constantly undergoing additions, subtractions, divisions and multiplications. Even in the case of institutions considered "sacred" – changes are the order of the day. The modern city provides the arena and context within which these institutions perform and are performed upon by human and non-human environments.

Institutions are established as a series of ideas for doing things, organized by human beings to express or pursue a value. An institution operates upon a concept of human nature, a method of organizing energies (power), a method for knowing and communicating, and a basis for claiming historical validity.

THE NEW URBANISM IN ENGLAND

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Comparisons, the cliché says, are often odious. I should therefore like for these remarks to be considered largely as something of a report on some phases on higher adult education in England with special reference to England's urban trends and problems. Comparisons, of course, are necessary – but differences do not mean that one system is necessarily better than the other. Therefore, when I point out significant differences, I am reporting but not throwing either stones or bouquets at English or American higher education.

Perhaps I should begin with a marked similarity rather than a difference. It is this: the adult learner has almost precisely the same characteristic in both countries. As I lectured *to* and conducted discussions *with* my adult classes week after week, I came more and more to the conclusion that if one eliminated the English accent, the result would be an adult class in Memphis, Keokuk or Sacramento. There are no important differences in ability, interests, nor in any other factor I was able to discover.

It follows, then, that if differences do not reside in the adult learner, they must reside in the system – in organization, goals and objectives, subject matter, and procedures.

England, during the fifteen years I have known it, has changed very rapidly. In the nineteen-fifties, the class-conscious British coalesced into an absorbent middle class and spread out into an ever-expanding suburbia. They took on heavy personal debts to build new homes and equip them with the gadgets of modern life. Supermarkets are taking the place of the green grocer, the butcher, the baker, and the grocer. Automobile traffic jams are as bad as ours. The department stores and drapers' shops are stocked with excellent clothes. The overall rate of unemployment is little more than one percent. People are living longer and better, partly because of the National Health Service and better nutrition of children, and partly because of higher living and educational standards. In short, the 1950's were affluent years.

Behind the scenes, however, have risen problems of urban growth which are enormous in their proportions. They, I think, can properly be described as phases of the transition from a *balanced* urbanism to an *unbalanced* urbanism.

Traditionally, England has had six cities of roughly 500,000 or more population – London, Birmingham, Liverpool, Leeds, Manchester, and Sheffield. Scotland had two – Glasgow and Edinburgh, *but the people of these cities had largely come to terms with this urbanism.* Recently population shifts, however, have had a marked effect on the country, so that parts of it are growing willy-nilly and other parts are experiencing population decline or at least stagnation. The great increase has been in London and other southern and eastern areas of England. To see the whole population centered on London today, one must envisage a circle with a radius of some forty or fifty miles from Picadilly Circus. This new greater London extends to Brighton on the Channel coast and stretches north to the hitherto sleepy agricultural areas of East Anglia. These areas have become dormitory suburbia taxing transportation facilities and raising problems of living never before experienced by Englishmen. The sheer rapidity of the change has added frustrations and complications which are beginning to show themselves in ways too numerous to treat here.

In the large urban areas other than London, serious problems are developing. Although population is relatively static, except for Birmingham, there is the new urge to live in suburbia, leaving within the cities large areas which have become slums of the worst sort. The lesser city suburbanite is burdened by debt, harassed by inadequate transportation facilities, troubled by the lack of convenient shopping areas.

From these sources, then, come England's major urban problems: (1) the imbalance caused by rapid population shifts, (2) sudden affluence after years of austerity, (3) the creation of new slum areas, (4) inadequate transportation, (5) lack of social cohesiveness, in suburbia. *Englishmen have not yet come to terms with the new urbanism.*

If not attributable to, then concomitant with, these urban trends, England is experiencing dismaying social problems which can only be suggested here. There has been a serious jump in juvenile crime, especially crimes of violence committed by boys under 17 years of age and young men under 21. Social workers are convinced that aside from crime, moral standards have sharply declined. It is reported that one in three marriages is forced by the bride's pregnancy. One out of five marriages ends in divorce. Although overall unemployment averages about one percent, there are areas where the percentage is much higher — in Liverpool, Glasgow and other northern cities.

In view of all this, it seems pertinent to inquire what the British universities through both internal and external departments are doing about the problems of the new and unbalanced urbanism. In order to present some order of ideas, it seems best to divide the matter into two compartments: *direct* and *indirect* involvement of the universities in urbanism. This, then, would give rise to four questions: (1) What are the internal departments doing directly about the problems of urbanism? (2) What are they doing indirectly? (3) What are the extra-mural departments doing directly? (4) What are they doing indirectly?

Directly, the internal faculties of the universities are doing less than one might imagine. All courses in schools of architecture give work on town and city planning, but involvement of the arts faculties in community development is not extensive. Sociology as a discipline has experienced rather slow and almost reluctant acceptance, although there is evidence that this is gradually being corrected in several universities. It is still true, however, that on the whole, much more time and effort go, for example, into medieval and renaissance history and literature than into contemporary social problems. This, of course, is directly reflected in the inability of the extra-mural departments to secure an adequate number of tutors who might teach in the field of urban problems.

The indirect effects of the universities are much more difficult to estimate for this involves the impact of a liberal education on a man's view of his world. And who can say what forces determine a man's social thinking?

As a good example, I cite the case of a man with cabinet rank in the MacMillan government. This man read in classics at Oxford, but when I first knew him fifteen years ago, he was engrossed in the development of an idea for the solution of London's urban problems. This was the "new town" built to absorb London's surplus population, especially people from bombed-out areas. These towns were not to be mere dormitory adjuncts to London, but were to be self-contained, complete with light industries; and all free from the influence of the city slums or the necessity for commuting daily.

The concept of these new towns was the product of bold social thinking, and the fact that the towns have largely been swallowed up in the successive waves of immigration which have hit the London area does not obscure this fact. However, my main point here is that this new approach to urbanism came largely from people who had not been trained in sociology and community development. To what extent did a liberal education at Oxford help shape social thinking? The answer is not apparent. And the same can be said for all other indirect influences of the University on society. One simply cannot measure it. One fact does emerge, however; it appears there is probably more thinking on urban problems outside most of the universities than in them.

The direct role of the extra-mural departments in urban problems to date may be described as some treatment of the symptoms rather than getting at basic involvements. Most of the extra-mural divisions offer courses in sociology and psychology for social workers, magistrates, police officials, juvenile authorities, and like groups. Most of the directors of extra-mural departments express a desire to do more of this sort of work, but they are hard pressed to find competent tutors from their own or other universities. However, in a very limited number of instances, did I find directors really keen on any actual involvements in community planning and development. Extra-mural work is, on the whole, not community oriented, certainly not action oriented.

It should be pointed out, however, that approximately seventeen percent of the combined course offerings in the provincial universities are in the social studies, exclusive of history. If we include history the figure rises to almost thirty percent; facts which make it dangerous to generalize or to pretend that it is easy to assay the direct or indirect influences of extra-mural departments on urbanism.

As a matter of fact, it seems apparent that adult educators on both sides of the Atlantic are not far apart in their confusion. Most of them have an interest in urban problems. All are confronted with a vast tidal wave of urbanism and with the consequent futility one feels in trying to identify the really basic nature of it and of doing something constructive to mitigate the social rigors it generates.

I think it is not incorrect to say that both in England and the United States, the universities are doing some thinking about the problems, but issues and concepts are confused. In this country, sociology, particularly urban sociology, is quantitatively far ahead of English universities, but I am not at all sure that town and gown in either country are together in their thinking.

PART III

A SUMMARY: THE IMPACT OF THE EMERGING CITY ON HIGHER ADULT EDUCATION

THE IMPACT OF THE EMERGING CITY ON HIGHER ADULT EDUCATION

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The Major Motifs

Major motifs emerge from the varied but quite inter-related presentations in this publication.

First, in the United States — and increasingly in the world — *we have more freedom than we know what to do with.* As a result of this great increase in freedom we have problems and difficulties. We have more choices to make for ourselves than ever before in history and because of the complexity of these choices we are probably less equipped for this freedom. As a result, and in vehement agreement with Eric Fromm's formulation in his *Escape From Freedom,* we are uneasy and unhappy.

Second, we are suffering from a variety of *enormous, dangerous, and usually unconscious, lags in our society.* Mentioned during the course of the conference were cultural, psychological, institutional and political lags. In all of these areas, thinking, planning and action have fallen behind advances and developments in the physical and scientific world.

Third, *these problems and these lags find focus in the city, where most people live but still are nostalgic for the country,* where we wage a continuing conflict between the institutional and community needs, and the individual needs and values, and where we have not, as yet, developed either the research or educational tools to do what must be done to make life in our cities humane and bearable.

Closely related to these major motifs, which could not be submerged nor avoided, were some consequences which characterize our thinking and planning, not only in the field of higher adult education but generally in our society.

At various points the authors suggested that:

> *We are unable or unwilling to admit, recognize and understand the realities of life as we now live it.* We pretend that we are still living in a laissez-faire, free-enterprise society even though we departed from such a society years ago. We act as if the old-time rural values and rewards still apply although we have become predominantly an urban society. Politically we act as though we were still living in the horse-and-buggy stage.
>
> Since we are unwilling to face the realities of the world in which we are living *we not only aren't getting the right answers to our problems, but we aren't even beginning to ask the right questions.*

And furthermore, because of the emergence of state and national problems as our major concern, we have neither the resources, the focus, nor the kind of research necessary to answer the questions about the city — even if we get to the point where we are asking the correct ones.

The key motifs — as presented — confront us with a rather bleak and frightening picture of today and of the prospect for tomorrow. At the same time analysis of these motifs and consequences suggested that the major educational need for effective life in our developing urban society is for a broad and liberal education which is the only kind of education which can equip us to face reality, to ask the right questions, and to develop methods for answering these questions.

The Background Against Which Universities Must Operate in the Urban Society

A number of definitions developed which may provide the tools for examining the emerging city. For example:

> *Urban* was defined as the concentration of a large number of people in a small land area.
>
> *Urbanism* referred to the human aspects of being urban.
>
> The definition of *Urbanity* which emerged was more a negative than a positive one. It was proposed that there were really few urbane men in our present suburban society and that we still tend to associate the urbane man with the now extinct top-hatted boulevardier of Toulouse-Lautrec.

Moving from these definitions the following seemed to emerge as major *leit-motifs* which characterize the emerging city of today.

First is *the imminence and pervasiveness of leisure as a way of life.* Much was made of the increasingly available data about the imminence of our movement from a "work" to a "leisure-oriented" society. Whereas now it requires only about 45% of the work-force to turn out needed production, in twenty-five years, experts predict, only 15% of the work-force will be needed. In this connection one author, who described five periods of social development, suggested that although we were now in the fourth period in which major value is placed on knowledge and ideas (and thus a greater dependence on universities and university-centers), we would soon be in the fifth period in which leisure would be the pervasive force in society.

Second is the *increasing visible value that our society places on continuing education.* The authors suggest that: Education is no longer geared primarily to "getting ahead" and to vocational subjects, but rather to a genuine search for knowledge; that education is fast becoming a consumer's item, rather than merely an adjunct to production; that adult education must be considered as "social capital," rather than as an expendable luxury item; that sound, logical and operational methods must be developed for the establishment of the new and meaningful objectives of continuing education programs; finally, that we must develop a new breed of adult educators who are aware of these needs and who are competent to fulfill them. Whether we are prepared for it or not, there was general agreement that we were fast approaching an almost complete urban society and that the challenge to educators — especially adult educators — was a clear and present one.

Third, *the enormous democratization of education* during the past hundred years was emphasized; that education is no longer reserved for the elite; that an accepted slave-society has been eliminated and that public education for all has been accepted in its place; that educators have moved out of the ivy-covered walls; that higher education is no longer dominated by the small, sectarian-based, religiously-dominated Eastern institutions; that education has already become massified; and that we have, in fact, already said a permanent good-bye to Mr. Chips and are finding increasingly that the stereotype of the isolate, campus-bound, absent-minded professor is a thing of the past.

Fourth, the fact that our country is becoming *increasingly centralized, nationalized and cosmopolitized* was referred to again and again. Despite the existence of some trends toward specialization and disbursement of production — facilitated by developments in travel and communication-decision-making, concentration of ideas and of finance and support of research is being centralized in a few spots and organizations. Power is increasingly moving to a few focal points, the speakers asserted. Civic research and civic policy is being denigrated in the face of nationalization and national imperitives. In the academic field, faculty members identify as much or more with colleagues in their discipline in other institutions than with other faculty in their own.

Fifth, the *specialization of task and place* was emphasized. As examples, the increasing concentration of research and development in the Boston area and the extent to which Boston is already capitalizing on this by suggesting that Boston is the "City of Ideas" was pointed to. At the same time, New York is becoming increasingly the focus of finances. Industry (and consequently population) is becoming focussed on the fringes of the country and soon industrial and population dispersion will assume a doughnut-like shape with the concentration on the East and West coasts, in the Great Lakes area, and in large portions of the South, with the rest of the country looking increasingly like the hole in the doughnut.

Sixth, in the United States, despite our rapid moves toward industrialization and toward city-concentration, *we are still bound by a Peasant-Psychology and our values are still primarily rural values.* Even though we live in cities we still act and think like village dwellers. We have not, in reality, either adjusted to city life of taken advantage of the opportunities offered by the city. It is in this area that we face one of the greatest, most pervasive, and tenacious lags.

Seventh, we are *not yet willing to realize, admit and accept what the city of the future will look like.* Few people realize that a city — or megalopolis — of some fifty million people is not only a possibility but a likelihood in the next several decades. At the moment the only factor preventing cities of such size is that of communication and even that problem is likely to be solved by new concepts of the city of the future already being discussed.

Eighth, as our society becomes less and less religious — which according to one of the authors is the case — *the mind and the intellect is replacing emotion and religion.* As a result the temples of learning are replacing the temples of religion as the major force in society.

Ninth, scientific and tested methods for the *derivation of realistic, urban values and objectives* must be utilized and applied.

Tenth, a new and burgeoning science, that of *urban research, is developing,* but at the moment it is a sadly neglected "Orphan of the Storm" which needs much warmth, sustenance, and financial adrenalin to make it effective.

Eleventh, *urban systems of continuing education* — which borrow something from church experience — *must be developed and expanded.*

Given these trends and factors which pervade our present society, the authors asked two crucial questions:

Can we learn to use the city or must we continue to be used by it? What kind of research is required to gain an understanding of the emerging city? How can we educate for city life? How can we develop and inculcate values which relate to the realities of city-life rather than to the nostalgia of our rural past? Can we develop a program of education about the city, possibly a "Professor of New Orleans" or of Chicago, as proposed by one of the authors.

The second question: *How can we stimulate interest in and get an audience for education about the city?* Some authors viewed with alarm their failure to fashion programs and recruitment methods which attract audiences to programs which are concerned with developing an intelligent understanding of the realities of city life and of the implications, opportunities and challenges which the emerging city presents to them as human beings.

Dilemmas, Problems and Conflicts Confronting Higher Education

Growing out of the development of the major motifs and of the background there emerged a series of dilemmas confronting both residents of and educators in the emerging city. Before moving to specific implications for higher adult education and before fashioning specific programs, it is well to examine these dilemmas in outline form.

Rural versus urban values: Related to the psychological lag growing out of our pervading and continuing peasant psychology.

Work versus play psychology: Whereby we continue to cling to our Protestant Ethic and our values placed upon "work" rather than "leisure" in a society in which leisure becomes an increasing reality and work a continuingly less demanding component.

Quality versus quantity in education: in the face of the need and reality of the democratization of education must we sacrifice quality in education or can we have both quality and quantity?

The "natural" or "elite" audience versus the total audience: Should we settle for the "natural" audience — those who come to programs on urbanism and liberal education on their own steam (the upper middle-class college graduates) — or should we seek for an audience including all classes and strata of society?

Retention of old ideas, values and beliefs versus development of creative, utopian, innovative thinking: In the terms of the anthropologist, Linton, to what extent should our education be concerned with passing on a traditional and cultural core from the past as compared to stimulating change and innovation? Are we mainly interested in developing hard-boiled practical realists, or dreamers and artists, and which is the most "practical" in the long run? And how do we plan and arrive at consensus as to what our goals and values should be?

Retention of old tested accepted social institutions versus creation of totally new institutions to deal with the realities of urban life: What kinds of educational, political and metropolitan institutions are required to deal with the emerging city, and how can they be developed?

Universities versus industry as the purveyor of vocational and technical education: Should universities allocate vocational and technical education to industries and concentrate increasingly on liberal education of adults?

Liberal education at undergraduate level in adult years: Accepting liberal education as a necessity for life and existence in the emerging city and the increase in leisure time and in longevity, should liberal education be emphasized as an aspect of preparatory or continuing educations?

Should urban education emphasize the responsibility of the individual to the city or vice versa? What is the role of the individual in our new megalopolis? Can his integrity be preserved? If so, how can we educate him to understand and implement his responsibility to the new city?

Do we concentrate on education for city living and for togetherness or for individuality and creativity? How can we provide continuing education which will prepare people to become increasingly effective and useful members of large urban complexes — with the requisite technical and intellectual skills — and, at the same time, continue the kind of education which encourages their development as creative and imaginative individuals?

Is education a consumer item, a right and a necessity for all, or is it tied directly to production and should it be available only to those who can pay for it? Will education really become a way of life and a pervading aspect of society for all or will it continue to be looked upon only as a means of getting ahead?

The Implications for Higher Adult Education

So many fresh ideas emerge, so many directions and implications grew out of these papers, that it is difficult to encompass all concepts in a brief summary. The following, however, are those ideas which appear to challenge the thinking and the imagination of university adult educators.

In view of (a) the increasing market for continuing education caused by the increase in our older population (both in numbers and proportionally), (b) the rising need for continuing education growing out of the increasing complexity in our life and in the decisions we must make, and (c) the greater opportunities for participation in continuing education stemming from the growth of leisure time — *the resources for and the availability of higher adult education must be vastly increased and as soon as possible.*

To provide the needs and growing demands for continuing education of a liberal and general nature, *new forms, structures and institutional arrangements for higher adult education are required.* These new institutional forms and creations must make better use of new technical and physical developments in the field of communication, they must be fitted into the new urban configurations and they must take cognizance of the differing kinds of needs and abilities that adults represent in their demands for continuing education.

Education for adults must increasingly concern itself with values, attitudes and understandings as opposed to simple skills, facts and information, and new methods for deriving the objectives of such education must be developed. The higher adult education of the future (meaning next week) should be liberal adult education so adults may be increasingly equipped with skills of decision-making and public responsibility. Artists as well as engineers must find a place in future programs of continuing education.

A major component of such education must be education about the crucial and complex dilemmas and decisions confronting the citizen in the emerging city. In addition to emphasis on values and understanding, adults must be equipped with those intellectual and research skills required to interpret the increasing wave of data and figures engulfing them and our colleges. Universities must develop new methods and programs to translate the findings and implications of research to the lay citizen.

Higher adult education must be looked upon as a way of life rather than as an adjunct to life. In this connection increasing attention must be paid to the development of popular, but ever more challenging and demanding, programs in the fields of cultural and arts education.

A major component of the developing programs of higher adult education must be education about the city and education which increasingly uses the resources of the city and the city itself as the methods and materials of continuing education.

Administrators and programmers in the field of higher adult education must become increasingly concerned about widening their audiences so they involve not only the elite but also the man-in-the-street. New methods for motivating, publicizing, recruiting and retaining the "non-intellectuals" must be devised and utilized. A broad new field of research and experimentation is here which must become an increasingly basic concern of leaders of higher adult education.

Persons in the field must also begin *to experiment with and develop new institutional forms* to make possible the enormously increased program of continuing education. Residential Centers represent one possibility but only one. The institutional form required must make maximum use of all new media for communication; it must take cognizance of man's increasing mobility; it should utilize all opportunities for study, field work and educational experiences whether they occur in the university or outside; and it should especially make use of the potentialities of adults for self-study and creative work of their own.

* * *

In closing we must return to the major motifs and must ask ourselves whether we will let ourselves become engulfed and intimidated by the dramatic and fascinating developments and changes occurring in the emerging city, or whether we will look upon these changes as a challenge which will enlarge our horizons and stimulate our imaginations. Administrators and teachers in higher adult education have it within their power to make the emerging city not only livable but viable. The next ten years will show whether we are equal to the challenge or not.

APPENDICES

THE TULANE INSTITUTE FOR DEANS AND DIRECTORS OF ADULT EDUCATION

Topic: Higher Adult Education and The Emerging City

Place: University Center, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana

Dates: June 26-29, 1963

Sponsors: Tulane University, Southern Regional Education Board, The Brookings Institution, The Fund for Adult Education

Planning Committee:
John P. Dyer, Dean, University College, Tulane University
*John Osman, Senior Staff Member, The Brookings Institution
William L. Bowden, Associate Director for Regional Programs, Southern Regional Education Board

Program Staff:

John W. Dyckman, Chairman, Center for Planning and Development Research, University of California; Chief of Urban and Regional Economics for Arthur D. Little and Company, Incorporated, San Francisco office

John P. Dyer, Dean, University College, Tulane University

Leonard Freedman, Head, Department of Social Sciences, University Extension, University of California, Los Angeles

Scott Greer, Professor of Sociology and Political Science and Director of the Center for Metropolitan Studies, Northwestern University

John Lawrence, Dean, School of Architecture, Tulane University

A. A. Liveright, Director of Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults

John Osman, Senior Staff Member of The Brookings Institution

Leonard Reissman, Charles A. and Leo M. Favrot Professor of Human Relations, Tulane University

William L. Bowden, Associate Director for Regional Programs, Southern Regional Education Board

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*Dr. Osman served as program coordinator for the Institute. Special manuals of reading materials were prepared by Dr. Osman and his staff at The Brookings Institution for use by the participants in the Institute.

PROGRAM

Wednesday, June 26

Presiding:	J. W. Brouillette, Director, General Extension Division, Louisiana State University
8:00 p.m.	DINNER – The Imogen Stone Room, 2nd Floor, University Center WELCOME TO THE CONFERENCE – Maxwell E. Lapham, M.D., Provost, Tulane University AN URBAN PHILOSOPHY FOR THE UNIVERSITY – John Osman

Thursday, June 27

Presiding:	Myron L. Blee, President, The Florida Institute for Continuing University Studies
9:00-10:25 a.m.	THE CHANGING NATURE OF THE UNIVERSITY IN AN URBAN AGE – Scott Greer Discussion Moderator – Leonard Reissman
10:35-12:00	AN URBAN POLICY FOR HIGHER EDUCATION – John W. Dyckman Discussion Moderator – John Lawrence
12:00- 1:00 p.m.	LUNCHEON, The Imogen Stone Room
1:00- 3:30 p.m.	Reading Time for Discussion Session
3:30- 5:30 p.m.	Discussion of readings on the theme THE EMERGING CITY led by John Osman
7:00 p.m.	DINNER, The Imogen Stone Room
Presiding:	James W. Cole, Dean, School of Continuing University Studies, University of Virginia THE SUBSTANCE OF HIGHER ADULT EDUCATION PROGRAMS IN URBANIZATION – Leonard Freeman Discussion Moderator – William L. Bowden

Friday, June 28

Presiding:	Nicholas P. Mitchell, Director, Extension Division, University of South Carolina
9:00-10:25 a.m.	THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE NEW URBAN SCALE FOR HIGHER ADULT EDUCATION – Scott Greer Discussion Moderator – Leonard Reissman
10:35-12:00	THE POLICY OF HIGHER EDUCATION FOR URBANIZATION – John W. Dyckman Discussion Moderator – John Lawrence
12:00- 1:00 p.m.	LUNCHEON, The Imogen Stone Room
1:00-3:30 p.m.	Reading Time for Discussion Session
3:30- 5:30 p.m.	Discussion of readings on the theme THE EMERGING CITY led by John Osman
7:30 p.m.	DINNER AT ANTOINE'S

Saturday, June 29

Presiding:	Raymond P. Witte, Director, Evening Division, Loyola University of New Orleans
8:30- 9:25 a.m.	COMPARISON OF HIGHER ADULT EDUCATION IN ENGLISH AND AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES – John P. Dyer
9:35-10:30 a.m.	Summary of the Tulane Institute – A. A. Liveright
10:30 a.m.	Adjournment

UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE SUMMER GRADUATE WORKSHOP FOR ADMINISTRATORS OF HIGHER EDUCATION FOR ADULTS IN URBAN AREAS

Topic:	The Emerging City: Implications for Programs of Higher Education for Adults in Urban Areas
Place:	College of Education, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tennessee
Dates:	July 22 - August 10, 1963
Sponsors:	University of Tennessee, Southern Regional Education Board, The Brookings Institution, The Fund for Adult Education
Planning Committee:	Howard Aldmon, Associate Professor of Education, University of Tennessee James Arnold, Dean, University Extension, University of Tennessee William L. Bowden, Associate Director for Regional Programs, Southern Regional Education Board Joseph Goddard, Director, Knoxville Evening College, University of Tennessee E. P. Merrill, Dean, College of Education, University of Tennessee *John Osman, Senior Staff Member, The Brookings Institution
Program Staff:	Howard F. Aldmon, Assistant Professor of Education, University of Tennessee William L. Bowden, Associate Director for Regional Programs, Southern Regional Education Board Glanville Downey, Member, Board of Scholars and Professors of Byzantine Literature, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection of Harvard University Scott Greer, Professor of Sociology and Political Science; Director, Center for Metropolitan Studies, Northwestern University Cyril O. Houle, Professor of Education, University of Chicago Leo Molinaro, Executive Vice President, The West Philadelphia Corporation John Osman, Director, Conference Program on the American Community and Senior Staff Member, The Brookings Institution

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*Five volumes of special reading materials were assembled by Dr. Osman and his staff at The Brookings Institution and used by the participants in the graduate workshop.

PROGRAM

Sunday, July 21

4:00-6:00 p.m.	Meeting of the Staff of the Workshop

Monday, July 22

9:30-11:30 a.m.	Orientation Seminar William L. Bowden, Associate Director for Regional Programs, Southern Regional Education Board Howard F. Aldmon, Assistant Professor of Education, University of Tennessee Workshop Director
2:30- 4:30 p.m.	Seminar on the Aims and Traditions of University Extension by Cyril O. Houle, Professor of Adult Education, University of Chicago

Tuesday, July 23 - Friday, July 26

9:30-11:30 a.m.	Seminars on Theories and Techniques of Program Construction by Cyril O. Houle

Tuesday, July 23 - Thursday, July 25

1:30-5:30 p.m.	Interviews by the participants with Cyril O. Houle concerning individual interests, and with Howard Aldmon to arrange individual study projects

Monday, July 29 - Friday, August 2

9:30-11:30 a.m.	Seminars by Glanville Downey, Member, Board of Scholars and Professors of Byzantine Literature, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library
2:30- 4:30 p.m.	Seminars by Scott Greer, Director, Center for Metropolitan Studies, Northwestern University

Monday, August 5 - Thursday, August 8

9:30-11:30 a.m.	Seminars by Leo Molinaro, Executive Vice President, The West Philadelphia Corporation

Monday, August 5

2:30-4:30 p.m.	Seminars on Interinstitutional Cooperation in an Urbanizing Society by William L. Bowden, Associate Director for Regional Programs, Southern Regional Education Board

Tuesday, August 6 - Thursday, August 8

2:30-4:30 p.m.	Seminars by John Osman, Senior Staff Member, The Brookings Institution

Friday, August 9

9:30-11:30 a.m.	Summary of the Workshop by John Osman Projection of the Workshop by Howard Aldmon
2:30- 4:30 p.m.	Discussion of the Individual Study Projects

Saturday, August 10

9:30-11:30 a.m.	Discussion of the Individual Study Projects

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